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THE LIBERATOR

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! it cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons. . . . Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is, to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and hereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. XX. NO 1. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, JANUARY 4, 1850. WHOLE NO. 991.

WARM DEBATE IN CONGRESS ABOUT FATHER MATHEW.

From the Washington Union.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR.

U. S. SENATE—Dec. 20, 1849.

[CONCLUDED.]

Mr. MANGUM. Mr. President, I have lived so long, sir, and have witnessed so many scenes in the Senate chamber, that I am not by any means surprised at the present one. If I had been called upon to express an opinion as to the propriety, originally, of introducing this resolution, I should have considered it entirely unnecessary to have offered it, because we all know that by daily usage the vigilance of the Chair sleeps over the infraction of rules to the practice of courtesy; and had any member of this body chosen to introduce the reverend and distinguished gentleman to whom this resolution refers upon the floor of this house, I presume that no objection would have been made. I should have expressed an opinion, therefore, adverse to the introduction of the resolution. But, sir, if there be any occasion on which a new precedent may be established, I think the case of Father Mathew is of peculiar strength. I cannot deem it necessary to reiterate what has been so well said respecting the virtues and philanthropy of this distinguished gentleman. The tribute proposed is an homage due to the virtues and claims upon our respect and veneration of the greatest benefactor of the age in which we live—one who has done more than any one else to restrain his countrymen from a vice that, perhaps, has destroyed more victims than the most insidious poisons.

So, in conferring honor upon a distinguished philanthropist, what may be his opinions on the subject of slavery, I neither know nor do I inquire. I have no scrupulosity, sir, that can be excited by such small matters as the expression of any sentiments as a mere individual opinion. I suppose that nobody can misconstrue my general sentiments in connection with the subject of slavery; but, sir, this institution, whether for weal or for wo, may defy such weak assaults. It is based upon a foundation that may defy danger from such a cause, and scorn to exhibit any apprehension in relation to its stability or justification. Sir, I do not suffer that consideration to weigh a feather.

I am willing to make this precedent, if there has been no such precedent hitherto. I know of none; but I am willing to make one, as an homage to an individual who is, as I have already said, the greatest benefactor of mankind in the present age.

I have never laid my eyes upon this distinguished man, but I revere his character, and I would extend to him every testimonial of courtesy; and if I had the means, there is no benefit which an honorable man could bestow, or an honorable man receive, which I would not willingly confer upon him.

I do hope that we shall not allow this discussion to run off into matters wholly unconnected with it, and upon which there will be future occasions, perhaps too many of them, for uttering the opinions and principles of this Chair—[Here Mr. Mangum rose, and appeared to extend this privilege to this distinguished gentleman, from considerations of strict personal courtesy, and a fitting testimonial of that homage which we all feel for a character like his.

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I was somewhat surprised, sir, when I heard this resolution offered. It appeared to me as extraordinary and unnecessary. And it is before the Senate for its action, I would not have any inference drawn, from the vote that I shall give upon this occasion, of censure upon the reverend gentleman whose name is before the Senate, for I am strongly inclined to believe that he is not fully understood by the gentlemen on either side who have spoken on the subject. I happened to be in Columbia when a message was received by a very distinguished gentleman—a friend of mine—who has taken a leading part in the temperance movement in South Carolina and in many of the Southern States. That gentleman had just received a letter from Judge Lumpkin, of Georgia, who had, in some measure, discouraged Father Mathew from visiting that State, but who wished to confer with my friend upon the subject. He had received a letter from the North. I do not think it was directly from this gentleman himself; but his inference was, that Father Mathew intended to keep aloof, as far as possible, from being used by any of the political parties of the United States, and that he wished to confine himself exclusively to the cause of temperance, which he had so long and so faithfully served. In doing that, he had a difficult part to play; and in endeavoring to do it, it may be that he has given occasion for being misunderstood at both ends of the Union. The inference of my friend was, that so far from his sentiments being against the South, his views were quite liberal, and especially that he was in favor of—in accordance with the spirit of our institutions—the idea that the people of the whole country were entitled to the equal enjoyment of the territories which belong to us. However, in this, sir, I may not be correctly representing the sentiments of the reverend gentleman. I speak only of the impression that was left on the mind of my friend.

But, sir, I shall vote to lay the resolution on the table for a different reason. It is an extraordinary resolution. I do not remember any precedent for it as having occurred during the period that I have been here. And, sir, if Father Mathew had been introduced into this hall by the invitation of any member of the Senate—I will not say any distinguished member, but by *any* member of the Senate—I believe that no objection would have arisen from any quarter, and there would have been no occasion for establishing this precedent.

Mr. President, it is well known that the precedent of to-day is the prescription of to-morrow; and if you pass a resolution of this kind, you will, in spite of the avowals of gentlemen, have it mingled with politics, and perhaps with New York politics—I make no allusion to gentlemen's motives — perhaps to the politics of this section or of that section.

Father Mathew's name might be used by those who choose to do so for purposes, perhaps, very far remote from those which he would choose to entertain. It is on account of this that I do not choose to designate him, by the passage of this resolution, as an extraordinary man, though doubtless he may be an extraordinary man. I do not choose to put him upon the same historical page with Lafayette; and, as the precedents of the Senate can make history by an extraordinary movement of this kind, I am not prepared to cheapen the privileges and honors of this Senate chamber.

These are my views, and for these reasons I forbear wholly, Mr. President, to enter upon the discussion of some topics which have been so freely indulged here. I look upon them, also, with too profound an interest to make them the subject of declamatory remark on questions of this sort. I know that these issues will come; and when they do come, I wish them to come in the gravest and most imposing form, for the deliberations of this body.

Mr. DICKINSON. An honorable Senator has thought proper to introduce a resolution, giving to this distinguished stranger and great moral reformer the privileges of this floor. He is believed to have accomplished great good both in the Old World and the New, in advancing the temperance reformation; to which mission of good will and field of labor here he has been studiously confined. These are doubtless the reasons which induced the introduction of the resolution, and are the reasons, and the only reasons, why I shall vote for it. The other questions which have been introduced here I will neither entertain nor discuss. As has been already said, they will be upon us soon enough, and be sufficiently embarrassing when necessarily and directly presented, and to such time let them stand postponed.

Mr. BADGER. I agree, Mr. President, with the remarks which have been made by my honorable colleague, [Mr. Mangum,] that this resolution should not have been introduced; but I do not agree that inasmuch as it has been introduced, when it ought not to have been, that fact should furnish a reason for voting in spite of it.

I wish, sir, to state the reasons why I vote as I intend to do, without complicating the question with a collateral question either of temperance or abolition. The Senate, in my judgment, ought not to adopt this resolution. In the first place, sir, it is a resolution without a precedent, so far as I know, and so far as I am able to hear from gentlemen around me, who have been for a much longer time members of, and acquainted with the precedents of this body. I say, sir, it is a resolution without precedent, because it is impossible to suppose that the case of General Lafayette can be considered as forming a precedent for a case like this.

He stands upon such grounds of pre-eminence as distinguish him necessarily from any and from every man, not a citizen of the United States, to whom honors could be proposed by the people of the United States. It is, then, the establishment of a precedent. And now, Mr. President, let us look a little ahead, and see the consequences to be produced by establishing this precedent.

In refusing to adopt this resolution—in laying this resolution on the table, as I intend to propose doing, upon the grounds which I have suggested—we pass no judgment upon the merits of the reverend gentleman to whom the resolution refers. But if this resolution be adopted, what is to be the consequence? This session, the next session, and, so far as we can see, for an illimitable, interminable period of time, we are to have successive resolutions presented to this body for granting special privileges and favors to distinguished individuals. We must pass them all or reject them all, or pass judgment upon the merits of the individuals whose names are submitted to us. By rejecting some and adopting others, every time that one is rejected, it is a declaration of this Senate against the fitness of the individual to be admitted to the honors conferred on proper occasions by this body. We shall thus be compelled, at the instance of any member of the Senate, to pass a judgment of the Senate, that any individual is or is not a proper person to be admitted to the privilege of a seat upon this floor. I see no necessity, in that case, for the rules of the Senate with regard to the privileges of this floor. The rules are general, and they apply not to persons individually, but to classes of persons. And with regard to military personages, the honorable Senator from Michigan, [Mr. Cass,] it seems to me, slightly misunderstands the rule of the Senate. No military man, as such, is entitled to admission on this floor, be his merits whatever they may. It is only those military officers [illegible] Congress for distinguished military services. All our rules are rules respecting classes, and there I leave them. I do not wish to see the Senate embarrassed with the consideration of successive individual precedents, involving the necessity of discus-ing particular merits and particular persons. What will be the consequence? Supposing a resolution is brought forward in favor of some gentlemen who have served gallantly in the defence of their country, but who have not been distinguished by a special vote of thanks, and who, therefore, under the general rule of the Senate, are not entitled to admission within this bar; shall we vote it down? If we establish this precedent of conferring privileges upon eminent strangers who visit our country for purposes laudable—surely, but no more laudable certainly than the fearless bravery of those who gallantly defend their country—how, then, shall we draw the line of distinction? I am not, therefore, for embarrasing myself. I do not wish to see the Senate embarrassed with these endless complications of individual merit. If the Senate wishes any illustration of what will be the consequence following from the establishment of this precedent, why, have we not a sufficient one here before us to-day in the discussion which has sprung up from this resolution? I, for one, am not disposed to embark in any such experiment. As my friend from South Carolina [Mr. Butler] said, I do not wish to be considered as expressing any opinion of disrespect or slight estimation for the reverend gentleman whose name is before us. I esteem him highly for his exertions in the cause of benevolence. I wish only to keep the Senate clear from the embarrassments which I have pointed out. I would prefer, therefore, to vote to lay this resolution on the table—not as passing any judgment upon the individual, but upon the ground that it is a subject not proper to be entertained by the Senate. If there is no other gentleman who desires to be heard upon the question, I will renew the motion to lay the resolution on the table.

The motion to lay on the table being withdrawn,

Mr. DOWNS said: Mr. President, I regret that this resolution was introduced. In much that the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Badger] has said against the expediency of adopting such resolutions I concur. Under ordinary circumstances, I would vote against such a resolution. It is said that the only precedent for such a case is that of Lafayette. If this be so, need we fear that the precedent will be often invoked? While applied to such cases only as Lafayette and Father Mathew, can there be a reasonable objection to it? Another case such as these may not occur for half a century; and when it does, I can see no danger in following the precedent.

If I thought for a moment that there was any thing in the past history of the individual to whom this resolution applies, or that there was likely to be any thing in his opinions advocated, or in his conduct in his proposed visit to the South, inimical to our interests or hostile to our opinions, then I would certainly be one of the first to oppose him. But is this the case? I think not. It is said that long ago, before he came to America, he expressed opinions opposed to slavery. Well, suppose he did; is it reasonable or proper in us of the South to require him to retract those opinions? He comes among us, not as a propagandist either of religious or political doctrines, but on a benevolent mission of humanity, to make mankind better and happier, like the Savior of the world who preceded him—on a mission scarcely less divine. He has, when approached, refused to commit himself, or in any manner to interfere, in public affairs or opinions on that subject in our country. Is not this a course which all must approve of? Could he with propriety, or without defeating the object of his mission, have pursued a different course? For myself, I confess, coming to the United States for the benevolent purpose he did—an object to be accomplished in no particular section and by no particular party or sect, but throughout our broad land, from North to South and from East to West, and by the co-operation of the well-disposed of all—if he had taken any part in political discussions, or obtruded his opinions on all occasions, I should not have approved of his course, even if it had been in favor of our side of the question, but should have considered him wanting in that wisdom and discretion necessary for the success of his mission. Besides sir, we of the South believe ourselves to be right in our opinions on the subject of slavery; that our course will bear the test of scrutiny and examination; that people abroad entertain erroneous opinions of our institutions, which would be removed by visiting our country and ascertaining the true state of the case. Would it not, then, be inexpedient and unwise to ask Father Mathew, before he has visited one section of the country, and had an opportunity of judging for himself, to change opinions previously formed? Would the world say this was the conduct of a people confident of the justice of their cause; or would it not rather say, there is something to conceal, or there would not be such precautions? For myself, I do not believe that he has evinced any disposition to interefere in our institutions. On the contrary, it seems to be admitted on all sides, that, when approached by the abolitionists on the subject, he refused to concur with them in their views, or give them any encouragement. But even if he was so disposed, I have too much confidence in the justice of our cause and the strength of our institutions, to suppose he could do us any harm.

Mr. President, I shall vote for this resolution upon another ground. This distinguished gentleman is upon a mission which I consider of vast importance to the people of the United States and to the world. I believe his efforts are to be of immense advantage, and I concur in the object of them, and I wish them success, and am disposed to advance them in every possible way. I presume there is not a single individual in this Senate but will use his utmost endeavors to promote that object.

Mr. President, I cannot see the occasion for offering this resolution; but, since it has been offered, let it be considered and passed. I beg my Southern friends to reflect upon the rejection of this resolution, before this venerable gentleman makes his departure to our own section of the country. He is engaged in a benevolent mission, and perhaps, if he is so unapprovingly received by the Senate of the United States, it will lessen the good effects of his mission, and paralyze his efforts, and take away the great advantages that will accrue to the United States through his exertions, and to our section as well as others.

I ask my Southern friends if the movement will not be impolitic? To give their disapprobation of the gentleman's conduct would be as much as to say that he ought not to go among us. I am sure none of them opposed the resolution on this ground; but still this may, and I fear will, be the effect of its rejection. I do not wish, when he is about to cross our borders, to push him back with an inhospitable and unkind hand. I wish to cheer him on in his good work. I do not intend to do any thing that will seem like repelling him from my State. I want him to go there. I think I can say for the people of my State, that he will be received with open arms and the kindest greetings; and I will not do any thing here offensive to such a feeling.

Some members of the Senate seem to be disposed to vote against the resolution in consequence of the speech made in its favor by the Senator from New York, [Mr. Seward,] and the grounds taken by him. My mind has not been influenced by that fact. I think of his effort very much as the Senator from Mississippi has characterized it. Very likely he took that ground to start this issue, and to throw us wish or intend to be influenced by him in any way. I do not wish to fall into perhaps the very trap he has set for us. I wish to vote on this, as on all other occasions, entirely uninfluenced by what he says or does. If he thinks I shall vote against this resolution because he advocates it, I wish, for one, to show him that he cannot influence me in that way any more than in any other. I wish him not to spring a new issue on us.

These are briefly the reasons which induce me to vote against laying the resolution on the table, and to vote for it on its passage. I should be doing violence to my own feelings, as well as those of the people of my State, if I acted differently, and against the cause of humanity.

Mr. PEARCE. I wish to relieve myself from any misconception which the Senator from Louisiana might have with regard to myself. I do not doubt that Father Mathew is entitled to the respect and gratitude of all men for his philanthropic and benevolent exertions, which have made him so useful to his fellow-men. I do not question the purity of his character, but consider him entitled to the respect of all. The motives which induce me to vote for the motion of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Badger] are those which he has assigned. I think that the rules which we have adopted—which have been made with respect to certain persons being admitted within the Senate chamber—ought to be preserved. This is an evil precedent, and one which will expand very soon, so as to be of very great inconvenience.

It will perhaps be but a little while before we shall have the presence in this country of Kossuth, the great apostle of Hungary. Perhaps he may be already on our shores. Georgey may also come, and then we may have a discussion upon the question of his fidelity to Hungarian liberty and independence. Some gentlemen may believe, as Kossuth thinks, that he has betrayed his country. Others may believe that he is its noblest spirit, as he is admitted to be its best warrior. This discussion we may have upon a resolution being offered to accord to them this very privilege of the chamber. It is very easy to see how the Senate may be involved in the discussion of the characters of these and other men—very much like the case now before us. Sir, I hold Father Mathew's exertions in the cause of temperance and his personal character in the highest respect, and if any gentleman had thought proper to introduce him privately upon this floor, I should not be opposed to it. But I cannot vote for this resolution, which is but the beginning of frequent repetitions and great inconvenience.

It has just this moment occurred to me that since this resolution has been submitted to the Senate, a Senator has received a card from an officer in the army, of distinguished merit and gallantry, out who is not entitled, under the rules of the Senate, to admission on the floor, as he does not come within the classes who are permitted to enter within the rule. If you make a precedent now, it will be followed up, and the end will be that the Senate of the United States will become a sort of court to give certificates of merit and good behavior.

Mr. DOUGLAS. There is much good sense in the remarks of the honorable Senator who has just taken his seat, in regard to the principle which is about to be established. I think the whole argument he has made against this resolution will apply equally well to every resolution for the purpose of tendering a vote of thanks to any individual who has distinguished himself in the service of his country, because the grades of merit from the highest to the lowest are so imperceptible that you will hardly know where to stop. In passing a vote of thanks to a distinguished officer, whose merits are so unequivocal as to leave no question as to the propriety of such a course, we have no difficulty in knowing where to begin. I apprehend that no one would pretend, for a moment, that if there was any distinguished foreigner more entitled to this compliment than another, the one who is now proposed would be placed in the first rank. I therefore see no difficulty in voting for this resolution. I only regret that it cannot be unanimous. I do not know why I should be called upon to approve, by my vote for this resolution, the opinions of Father Mathew upon the slavery question, any more than to approve his sentiments upon religion. How is it, then, that in this case it is contended that this compliment to an individual implies an approval of every opinion that h may entertain upon political, religious, or moral questions?

When a proposition was pending here some time ago, voting thanks to General Taylor for his military services, did Northern men consider that by voting thanks we were thereby approving his views upon slavery? Or, in voting thanks to a Northern general who might be an advocate for the restriction of slavery, did Southern men think they were approving the opinions of that general upon political questions? By no means. A vote of thanks to them was for their distinguished services upon the battle-field. When we paid a compliment to Lafayette, it was for his patriotism, and for his friendship to this country. And when we pay this compliment to Father Mathew, it is out of respect to his character as a man, and the services he has rendered to the whole civilized world, by the great cause in which he is engaged, and in which he has acquired all his distinction. And this approval and encouragement of his efforts in the cause of temperance, involves the approval of his opinions upon the subject of slavery, religion or politics no more than if he entertained no opinions whatever.

I see, therefore, no difficulty in giving a vote upon the resolution, or in Northern men or Southern men giving their votes upon it. The only strange feature in it is, that the Senator from New York [Mr. Seward] should advocate it *because* of his fidelity to the abolition cause, and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Hale] should repudiate him because he was not committed upon the subject of slavery. The disagreement of these two Senators shows that when they come to talk about Father Mathew's slavery opinions, they know nothing of that which they are talking about, and which they ought not to bring forward as a matter of debate.

Mr. HALE. Was it the Senator from New York, or the Senator from New Hampshire, or either of them, that introduced the subject of slavery in connection with Father Mathew?

Mr. DOUGLAS. So far as I heard, it was one of them.

Mr. HALE. I understood it to be introduced by the Senator from Alabama, [Mr. Clemens.]

Mr. DOUGLAS. That may be. I did not hear the remarks made by him.

Mr. SEWARD. Will the honorable Senator mention what remark of the Senator from New York spoke of the character of Father Mathew's opinions upon the subject of slavery.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I cannot repeat the precise sentence.

Mr. SEWARD. The idea, if you please.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I understood the Senator from New York to advocate this resolution as an encouragement of anti-slavery sentiments, and I have noticed that the same construction has been given to it throughout the debate. I should be very happy to hear that I misunderstood the honorable Senator.

Mr. SEWARD. The Senator from New York submitted to misapprehension rather than interrupt the debate by explanation. The Senator from New York received his information as to the objection to this resolution from the Senator from Alabama, whose sole objection was that Father Mathew, once [illegible] time, signed an address in Ireland, with Dan- subject of slavery, and when called upon, [illegible] tracted it. The Senator from New York argued that he had the same right to express his opinions, and that the tribute proposed to be paid to him should not be withheld from him simply because he has sympathized with what the Senator from New York had considered the cause of human freedom.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I am happy to hear this explanation, for I am allowed to consider the explanation as a disavowal of any intention to advocate here peculiar sentiments upon the subject of slavery. I think it is doing injustice to the character of the distinguished philanthropist to attempt to connect his name with the subject of slavery, on this side or on the other. I think it was an act of gross injustice—of gross impropriety—on the part of the abolition society of Boston, to attempt to prostitute the fame of this distinguished philanthropist by trying to entrap him into the movements of that society. I think it unjust to his fame to attempt to identify him with either side in this question, or any other of a domestic character relating to this country. It would be an act of gross injustice to him to attempt to draw him out as a Whig or a Democrat, an abolitionist or a non-interventionist. He comes here upon a great mission, which commands the admiration and sympathy of all men who have a heart to feel and a mind to comprehend the philanthropic efforts of a great and noble soul. We ought to wish him encouragement in this great cause, but we ought *not* to attempt to avail ourselves in our party struggles of his popularity to build us up in these strifes one with another. Sir, he who would attempt to identify Father Mathew with one side or the other, would draw upon his head the contempt of all honest people, as being a demagogue who would trifle with the holiest sentiments and the purest cause, for the purpose of making a little popularity for himself. His cause is above that of any man who would attempt to defile or prostitute it for any such purposes as these.

Mr. CLEMENS. I would ask if any of the honorable Senator's remarks are intended for me?

Mr. DOUGLAS. I did not hear any of the remarks of the Senator from Alabama. I supposed the subject was introduced by the Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr. Hale.]

Mr. HALE. I am to understand, then, that the remarks of the Senator from Illinois are intended for me?

Mr. DOUGLAS. [illegible] upon that point.

Mr. HALE. Will the Senator hear me for a moment? The Senator speaks of those who introduced the subject of slavery. It certainly was neither I nor any body on this side of the house. It was, as the Senate well know, the honorable Senator from Alabama, who made exceptions to extending this invitation to Father Mathew, upon the ground that he had expressed anti-slavery sentiments.

Mr. DOUGLAS. I cannot say that these remarks were intended for any Senator. I can hardly select any to whom I could apply them. They were called forth by the manner in which I find this investigation going on, with regard to this gentleman's sentiments on the slavery question, and with regard to his admission upon or exclusion from this floor. But, sir, I was expressing the sentiments of my own heart, when I said that I thought no such inquiry should be made. I would say here, that these are only my opinions. It is not my right or province to prescribe a rule for any other Senator. Far from me be it to make a personal or individual application of my remarks to any Senator whatever. I only wished to say that the Senator had no right to classify Father Mathew as an abolitionist, merely from a remark made by the Senator from Alabama. Every gentleman should be at liberty to vote for this resolution, without being compelled to approve or disapprove of the opinions of Father Mathew upon the subject of slavery. These, sir, were the objects I had in view in making the remarks I did. If there was any thing harsh or unkind, it was not my desire to make them so; but to harmonize and restore good feeling, instead of unkind feeling, upon a question which I think ought not to have taken a moment for its consideration and adoption.

Mr. MASON obtained the floor, but yielded to

Mr. CLEMENS, who said: I did not anticipate a debate of this character when I stated my objections to the adoption of the resolution on the table. My sole object was to define my own position, and to explain very briefly the reasons why I could not vote for it. I have as much respect for Father Mathew as the great apostle of temperance as any Senator on this floor. I am myself a *teetotaller*, and for that part of his mission he has all of my sympathies. But when the fact is known to me, that the temperance societies in several of the Southern States have recently withdrawn the invitations they had sent him, on account of his unwarrantable interference with our domestic institutions; when I know that Southern feeling at this moment is any thing but favorable to him, I cannot consent to confer upon him by my vote a most extraordinary honor.

The Senator from Kentucky has said that any Senator might have [illegible] him here without the adoption of a resolution. True, sir; and in that course I should not have offered the slightest objection, because for that I should have been in no way responsible. But it is a different thing when I am asked to sanction and approve his introduction—to aid in conferring honor on one who has denounced my constituents as a band of lawless plunderers.

The Senator from Louisiana misunderstands me greatly if he supposes that I object to Father Mathew because he refuses to retract some ill-considered expressions uttered by him years ago. My objections are of a more recent date. He has very lately written letters to the South of such a character as to cause Governor Lumpkin to recommend, through the public papers, that all invitations to him should be withdrawn.

Mr. BUTLER. Will my friend from Alabama allow me to call upon the senator from Georgia to make some explanation of this matter?

Mr. CLEMENS yielded the floor.

Mr. BERRIEN. Will the senator from South Carolina say upon what particular point he wishes a statement from me?

Mr. BUTLER. I have made the statement that Judge Lumpkin, president of one of the temperance societies of Georgia, had written to Father Mathew to come to Georgia and lecture; and a similar invitation, I know, has been made by some societies in South Carolina. I know that Judge Lumpkin had some difficulty upon the subject, but the precise nature of the difficulty I may not have stated correctly. That is the point which I wish the senator from Georgia to correct, so that my friend from Alabama may be able to go on with his remarks.

Mr. BERRIEN. With the permission of the senator from Alabama, I will answer the inquiry. Do I understand him to yield the floor?

Mr. CLEMENS assented.

Mr. BERRIEN. Mr. President, I will say, before I make a statement upon the subject, that I have abstained from taking any part in this discussion, under a strong conviction that it was improper. Yet I was strongly tempted, when the name of one of the citizens of my own State, one of the most estimable men in that State, was brought into the discussion, under circumstances which I thought subjected him to misapprehension, to speak, so far as to relieve him from any possibility of an improper motive. As I understand the matter, from a letter published by the gentleman to whom I have referred—one of the societies [illegible] dent—had addressed to the reverend gentleman an invitation to visit that State for the promotion of the cause of temperance. Subsequently an answer was received, probably acquiescing in that invitation. Subsequently to that time, the circumstance occurred to which the honorable senator from New Hampshire [Mr. Hale] has referred. In consequence of the refusal of Father Mathew to accept the invitation of the society of Boston, a publication was made disclosing the fact that Father Mathew, in connection with Mr. O'Connell, had some years before, while in Ireland, united in an address to the Irish of the United States, enjoining upon them the belief that slavery is a sin, and calling upon the Irishmen in the United States, by every consideration which they held valuable, whether as regarded time or eternity, to unite their strength and powers to destroy that institution in the United States. In the opinion of Judge Lumpkin, as expressed in that paper, Father Mathew had perfect liberty to entertain any opinions upon the subject of slavery; and that would have been no objection to the temperance societies of Georgia and other southern States inviting him among them for the promotion of the cause of temperance. But they saw in that paper the evidence of foreigners, having great influence among their countrymen in the United States, associating themselves together, and, by a public address to their countrymen in the United States, inviting them to make war upon the institutions of this country. Judge Lumpkin, who is as mild, as amisble, and as benevolent a man as any who exists, felt that, under the circumstances, he could not, as the president of the temperance society of Georgia, permit an invitation to an individual who, while in a foreign country, had undertaken to disturb the institutions of a portion of the people of the United States, and he therefore recalled the invitation.

Mr. CLEMENS. The facts are precisely as I understood them: and whatever respect I may have for him as a temperance advocate, I cannot and will not forget that he is also an abolition agitator, and as such, entitled to nothing at my hands save unqualified condemnation.

The senator from New York has spoken of his interference with the subject of slavery as a recommendation; and the senator from New Hampshire adds that Father Mathew is not enough of an abolitionist for him. But senators claim that this officious intermiddling with the property and the rights of others is a very praiseworthy exhibition of Christian [illegible] slave. I never, doubted, sir, that such were the opinions of those gentlemen. Their acts for years past have been too unequivocal to admit of misconstruction. I know that the cruelties of the slaveholder, and the sufferings of the down-trodden African, have formed the chief staple of all their discourses. Let me tell them that it would be well to look a little at home. There are at your own doors objects of charity enough, without hunting for slaves upon whom to bestow it. There are at this very moment, in all your great cities, thousands of homeless wretches, destitute of food or raiment, and without a thought or an instinct that is not colored by crime. There are hordes of wretched females, toiling by day and by night for a miserable pittance, which only adds to the horrors of starvation by protracting the agonies of the sufferer. There are bands of little children to whom beggary has descended as an inheritance, for whom a State prison is a welcome asylum. Misery in all its forms—poverty in all its rags—sickness and starvation are around you; and yet, with a miserable hypocrisy, you must travel away to the South, and waste your sympathies upon a population who are better clothed, better fed, who work less, and live more happily, than four-fifths of yourselves. You compel a poor factory girl to perform an amount of labor which is not exacted from healthy and robust *men* by the planters of the South—separate her from her friends and relations—allow no one to visit her without a *written pass* from an overseer, and all the while thank God that you are free from the curse of African slavery. Nay, more; you assume to be of a better and a purer race. You unblushingly assert, on all occasions, that while the pistol and the bowie-knife give law to the South, you are in the constant observance of moral and religious precepts. Sir, I admit, with regret, that there are occasional scenes of violence among us, and that sometimes we forget the value of human life; but our offences have always a touch of manliness in them. There are no petty larcenies—no outrages upon unprotected females—no midnight assassinations *for money*. When we stoop to imitate the brute creation, we take the lion, not the hyena, for our model. But, while I make the admission that we are not altogether free from crime, let me ask, how stands the case with you? The city of New York alone furnishes more State prison convicts than the whole fifteen Southern States together. You tear down churches; burn up convents, inhabited by a few helpless nuns; get up processions in honor of a brutal prize-fighter; and raise riots at the bidding of a worthless player, in which scores of lives are sacrificed, without dreaming that there is anything in all this unbecoming the descendants of the Pilgrim fathers. Look at home, I say; correct your own iniquities, relieve your own sufferers, and then, but not till then, you may prate of the crime and misery which slavery engenders.

I regret, Mr. President, that this debate has sprung up. I regret still more the course it has taken; not, however, from prudential considerations—not because, as the Senator from Kentucky has intimated, it is imprudent to discuss matters relating to slavery—but because this question must soon be met in another form, and I was willing to let it slumber till then. But I may as well now say, that the time for prudential action is past. The disease is a desperate one, and requires desperate remedies. For one, sir, I yield no inch of ground—no, not one hair's breadth. Whenever this anti-slavery sentiment shows itself, whatever form it may assume, I am ready to do battle against it. The time for half-measures has gone by. You must let us alone, or take the consequences.

Mr. MASON. Mr. President, the senator from New York [Mr. Seward] has left us under no misapprehension as to his opinion upon this question. I understand that that senator, having heard from the senator from Alabama, who has just taken his seat, that the gentleman to whom this distinguished compliment is proposed to be paid by the American Senate, while a foreigner in a foreign land, and a subject of a monarch, clothed with the authority of a church which calls itself infallible, clothed with the still higher authority of a successful mission in a work of great philanthropy and benevolence, which gave him a command over his fellow-citizens superior to that of the monarch which he obeyed—the senator from New York, I say, having heard that a foreigner, armed with such moral authority, had, indeed, in an address to the people of his country, then in ours, urged them to embark in a crusade for the demolition of that which he denounced as a sin,—when the senator knew that this sin, thus denounced, was one of the domestic institutions, dear to the people where it has its existence,—when the senator from New York knew that interference in that institution would peril the country in which we live,—I understood him to declare that this act of that foreigner had his approval; that he sympathized with him in what he had done; that he was ready here in his place, thus sympathizing, to lend his powerful aid to carry on his work against the institutions of the South, and called upon the American Senate to pay him this compliment.

Now, sir, what are we called upon to do? To pay a compliment never yet paid to any but one, who has been called, and justly, too, the 'Apostle of Liberty'—[illegible] I take it upon myself to say has committed an act of aggression upon the American people which years of regret can never efface. I may not be understood. I say that it is the pleasure of that gentleman to connect the opinions of that distinguished foreigner on the slave question with the compliment now asked to be paid to him by the American Senate, and he calls upon men who represent Southern interests to unite with him!

Sir, what has been done? He to whom you propose to pay this compliment in the resolution now before us, is a man of peace—as one clothed with the robes of the church—as one exercising among men a moral power unparalleled in the world, by the success of his mission in a great and philanthropic effort—did lend the authority of that position to interfere with that question here while a foreigner and in a foreign land. Has he retracted? No! And we are told that we are to endorse it. With that sin unexpiated, we are told that the American Senate should pay a compliment that I have said has been paid specially but once. Now, sir, I mean not to express any distrust of that gentleman's mission. I entertain for him feelings of unbounded respect and gratitude for the great mission in which he is embarked. I regret extremely, that in any unguarded moment, if it were so, or with any fixed and settled design, he ever lent his name to any purpose of such utter disrespect to the American people and their institutions. But he did it. And I humbly submit to you, that if you pay this compliment which is now asked of the American Senate, what authority have we that he may not feel himself called upon to connect his mission in some manner with the destruction of slavery in the Southern States?

Sir, I did not intend to take any part in this discussion. I perfectly concurred with the Senator from North Carolina, [Mr. Badger,] but a higher degree of importance was given to it by the Senator from New York. I cannot endorse any such opinion, any such act whatever. I participate in the regret of those around me, that this resolution should have been introduced. I intend no disrespect to the man; but I cannot give my vote when it is recommended to the American people to connect this compliment with his mission here. I must, therefore, withhold my vote from the resolution.

Mr. HOUSTON. Humble as I am, sir, I deem it just to myself, and respectful to the Senate, that I should [illegible] my reasons for my vote. I entertain a regret as profound and sincere, I presume, as any gentleman upon this floor, that any question has arisen calculated to excite feelings not the most felicitous to harmony and to good understanding in this body. I cannot view this resolution as some honorable gentlemen do; I cannot regard it, sir, as any test of merit beyond what the great Apostle of Temperance has manifested to the world by his advent to this country. If I understand it, sir, it is a sentiment responsive to the popular expression manifested in different portions of the country, and certainly without any political intentions, so far as we have a right to judge. It has been demanded by gentlemen, what evidence have we that Father Mathew may not, on some future occasion, light the torch of discord in the South? The fact, sir, that he has refused to join the agitators of the North, and that he has declined to encourage any of the ultra opinions of the South, is, to my mind, a proof that he regards his mission as a mission of peace, and not himself as the agent of this cause. With a full conviction upon my mind that his intention is purely to promote the good of mankind—to add to the general sum of felicity—I am brought to the conclusion, sir, to support the resolution.

I cannot see that it is at all connected with any political consideration whatever; and I think, from the evidence adduced before the Senate, that the very contrary is his state of feeling now, and that he is determined to stand aloof from all the agitations of this country; but that he might, at one period, from the scenes of misery surrounding him in Ireland, as so eloquently described by the senator from Alabama, have deprecated the horrors of slavery in any nation; and believing it, as existing in the United States, far beyond what he saw manifested in Ireland, in a moment of immature years, compared to those he now wears, he may have performed an act which was culpable. But if it *was* culpable, he has relieved himself from it by refusing in the United States to participate in the agitation which unfortunately exists in this country. I commend him for it,

sir. He goes not with a torch of discord, but with a bond of peace, reformation and redemption, to an unfortunate class of the community.

I, sir, am a disciple. I needed the discipline of reformation, and I embraced it. I am proud upon this floor to proclaim it, sir; and would that I could enforce the example upon every American heart that influences or is influenced by filial affection, conjugal love, or parental tenderness. Yes, sir, there is love, purity and fidelity inscribed upon the banner that he bears. It has nothing to do with abolition or with nullification, sir. Away with your paltry objection to men who come bearing the binnacle above the turbid waters which unfortunately roll at the foot of this mighty republic!

It is unfortunate for us, that when great questions are presented to the Senate, when the nation thrills, and when the heart's core of patriotism is wrung with vital affection, then comes up the objection of courtesy and civility to a foreigner. A foreigner! yes, sir; from the land of our ancestors, from Erin's isle he came! and he came on a mission of peace and good will. And could not this little testimony of respect indicate his welcome here among the representatives of millions? Could not they in courtesy receive him, and extend to him the hand of respect and the embrace of love? It would not be the individual alone that they would elevate; but it would be the cause of morality; it would enable him to exert a good influence upon the minds of those who are to be the beneficiaries of American mothers, American children, American brothers, fathers, and parents—all.

And yet there is objection—objection in this Senate! Is it worthy of an American Senate to make a victim of a patriot and philanthropist—a man whose mission is peace and good will on earth? Sir, I will not be guilty of it. My reasons may be imperfect, but I know that my impulses are all right.

Mr. President, if this gentleman were entitled to the privileges of the floor by invitation of the Chair, this is clearly a manifestation of that privilege. It is nothing more. It is excluding no other individual, sir, from the respect we extend to this apostle of temperance. Let others present themselves at the head and front of great moral and social revolutions, and I will hail them welcome. Lafayette was a coadjutor of liberty—a disciple of liberty. Washington was a coadjutor of liberty. Father Mathew is a great Apostle of Temperance, sent forth at the inspiration of a patriotic heart, by philanthropy of soul, to the United States, to extend the benefit of his influence in reforming society. I bid him welcome. It has nothing to do, in my opinion, with all the noise of political strife, and I am not prepared to combine it with the tariff, abolition, nullification, or anything of that kind, or manufactures of any shape, unless it is the manufacture of intemperate men into sober, respectable citizens. That is as far as I will go, sir. But I do not think, at all times when this question may arise, we should consider that the time has passed by when prudential considerations should be entertained and cherished in this body. They are, sir, in the American people; they are at the citizen's hearth-stone; they are in your churches of sacred worship; they are in your court-houses; they are even upon your muster-fields, and are hardly yet excluded from the grog-shops in America. Prudential considerations! Sir, while liberty is outraged, while man cannot approach his dignity, or while the Union is worth preserving, prudential considerations are attached to the great mind of society. I will cherish it properly on all occasions; I will oppose it on no occasion, but I will venture everything to avert the evils threatened; and I will never provoke them. I am not a garrulous old man, nor am I a testy old woman, sir, to threaten this Union. [Laughter.]

Mr. YULEE. As it is my intention to vote for the motion to lay upon the table, I desire to precede my vote with a very few remarks. I have objections to this resolution, sir, of various kinds. An objection which might occur very readily to most persons, and probably to most of the constituents of this body, is that, as a compliment, as an act of homage to this gentleman, if it is intended as such, it is to a foreigner. If the resolution were so amended as to bind the Senate to receive from Father Mathew, in this chamber, the pledge, either through the Vice President, as their organ, or *seriatim*, it would be a substantial compliment, which I dare say would be gratifying to the gentleman; but I apprehend that he is no more desirous of receiving an empty compliment, than it is proper for us to bestow it.

But there are considerations of a serious character, which will make it imperative on me to vote for laying the resolution on the table. Sir, I consider this to be the chamber of the Senate. It is the hall in which, in execution of the trust which their commissions impose upon them. I hold, therefore, that the first duty of courtesy obligatory upon this body, is to its own members—to the members of this body; and that the use of this floor, upon which we are obliged to sit, and upon which we are obliged to be present, is not to be given to an outsider—to one not entitled to its privileges, and whose presence may be disagreeable to any portion of the members of this body. I feel that the right which any gentleman upon this floor possesses, is such that a mere majority of this body cannot undertake to exercise the power of introducing those objected to. I consider that the majority of this body has not a right to pledge me to receive here upon this floor an individual who may be obnoxious to me, and who has no right to a place here.

But, sir, the objection made by the honorable Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Badger] seems to me to be well founded. And there is another point, the principle of which, it seems to me, should not be overlooked by the Senate. We undertake, sir, to set ourselves up, by resolution or otherwise, by compliment or otherwise, to decide questions of morals, as *censor morum;* we undertake to confer compliments upon those whom we consider apostles of morals. It is true, we do admit, by rule, gentlemen upon this floor who have been or are now connected with the political action of this government, or who have performed special services for the republic, for which they have received special thanks. But, sir, this is not, in my opinion, a precedent that the Senate should go beyond the rule as found in the pamphlet now upon the desk of the Clerk. I am informed, that not even in the case of Lafayette has the precedent been adopted. It is not true that Lafayette was admitted to the privileges of this floor. He was here as a public guest, and was specially invated to a public reception in this hall. He was received at a time designated by himself, and the Senate adjourned to permit members to pay their personal respects to him, to whom they were due, no doubt, more than to any other foreigner in the country.

More than that, sir. It is without precedent in the history of the nation, that the privilege of admission to the bar of the Senate should be granted. If you look to your rules, you will find that even the President of the United States, and the heads of departments, are not admitted to the bar of the Senate. They may come upon the floor of the Senate, in the lobby of the Senate; but the resolution admits this individual into the *bar* of the Senate—a privilege which has never been conferred even upon the most illustrious citizens, in office or out of office. Washington himself, the Father of his Country, was not entitled to be admitted within the bar of the Senate.

A Senator. Did he not deliver his messages here?

Mr. YULEE. His messages were delivered either from the desk or in the lobby. Now, sir, I consider it sufficient that a member of this body—any member of this body—any one member of this body—has expressed his disapproval of the resolution, and his dissent from the presence of this gentleman as a privileged person upon this floor. This is not the hall of the majority. It is my hall; it is the hall of the gentleman from Alabama, who presents an objection; it is a hall in which he is not only entitled, but obliged to be present, and in which not even a majority have a right to authorize any individual to enter who may be obnoxious to him. It is my floor, to the privileges of which I am as much entitled as any other man, and no majority have a right to control it. I shall therefore vote decidedly for the motion to lay upon the table.

Mr. BADGER renewed his motion to lay the resolution upon the table.

Mr. HALE called for the yeas and nays, which were ordered.

Mr. CALHOUN. Not supposing that the yeas and nays would be called for, I have abstained from making any remarks on the question. If the Senate will indulge me in a few remarks——

THE VICE-PRESIDENT. With the unanimous consent of the Senate the gentleman may proceed.

Mr. CALHOUN. Mr. President, I intend to limit my remarks simply to the question of laying on the table. It is now ascertained that there is no precedent whatever to justify the resolution. We are therefore to make a precedent of this case; for let our vote be either affirmative or negative, it is a precedent. It appears to me that the Senate itself ought to come to the conclusion, from this very debate, of the impropriety of making this a precedent. It has now occupied us for hours, bringing up a discussion which, so far as the gentleman is concerned who is the subject-matter of it, must wound his feelings much more than the compliment would heal them. The Senate now sees that Mr. Mathew cannot possibly receive the united invitation of this body. It must be a divided vote. The compliment, if it passes, will be weakened; and I submit it to every senator, whether it will not be more acceptable to his feelings to lay it upon the table, upon the ground that we do not choose to make a precedent, than to vote for it dividedly.

The Senator from Louisiana behind me [Mr. Downs] urges the reason for making this a precedent that it is extraordinary; that the occasion is peculiar, and can scorcely hereafter be repeated. Sir, the very fact that it is extraordinary is a motive for not making it a precedent. If you vote it down in a strong case, it will establish the rule so that it cannot be broken over hereafter. And if you vote affirmatively upon it, it will draw after it a train that it will be impossible to resist. You may refuse this on the ground that there is no precedent; but if you make a precedent, then, when you come to object hereafter to a resolution of this kind, it becomes a question of merit. Now, sir, gentlemen know, upon a question of merit, how difficult it is to decide.

Sir, I must say, that, in many respects, we do not respect ourselves as much as we ought.—There is not a parliamentary body in the world that extends compliments of this kind. In the British Parliament, it is a high honor to be introduced by a distinguished member of either House privately. No foreigner or other man ought to expect such a compliment from the United States. We owe more to ourselves than to give it; and especially as this goes far beyond any other—admitting him within the bar of the Senate. Sir, I do hope the Senate will pause before they give an affirmative vote. I hope they will consider it, and settle it, that compliments of this kind are not to be expected from us.

Mr. FOOTE. Mr. President, I have been very forcibly struck by the remarks which have just fallen from the honorable Senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun;] and from the reasons stated by him in opposition to the resolution under consideration, I feel constrained to ask the honorable Senator from Wisconsin, [Mr. Walker,] with the unanimous consent of the Senate, which I cannot doubt will be yielded, that he will withdraw his resolution. It is evident that it cannot be adopted unanimously; and if adopted by a simple majority, it will do but little honor to the reverend gentleman in whose favor it was introduced.

Mr. WALKER. Mr. President, I have already said, sir, that in offering this resolution, I did it only regarding the individual to whom it refers as a reformer in the temperance cause. I very little anticipated this debate; I had no idea that such a debate would grow out of it; and I do not expect to be more surprised at any debate during this session of the Senate. Gentlemen speak of the danger of misconstruction of their position. I have been the subject of misconstruction, but it has not yet gone to such an extent as to win me to the conclusion that upon any occasion that arises here I must not act upon my own judgment. Gentlemen on the one side may charge me, as much as they please, with voting an abolition vote; and upon the other side they may charge me as much as they please with casting a pro-slavery vote, in offering that resolution. It is a matter of entire indifference to me from which side the charge comes. I stand before the country in the position of having shown some little disregard to misconstruction. I occupy that position. I care not from which side misconstruction comes. I hold that no man, by a speech here, can make me occupy a position other than that in which I place myself. If the Senator from New York [Mr. Seward] has said anything calculated to embarrass gentlemen, they know whether they occupy the position in point of fact which he has ascribed to them, or not. If, on either side, speeches have been made placing gentlemen in a position they do not like to occupy, it is for them to consider whether they occupy it or not.

My ideas of duty are these: no gentleman has a right, by his speech, to place me in one position or another. I would be very willing to withdraw this resolution if the debate had not come on—for which I have been made; but I cannot do it now; not, however, because it has been announced that he is anti-slavery, or that he is not sufficiently pro-slavery. I look upon Mr. Mathew as a philanthropic reformer, a temperance advocate; and, as such, he has certainly done more good in this country than any other. While, therefore, I occupy that position myself, I care not in what position others may, by their speeches, think proper to place me. I propose that resolution as a compliment to Father Mathew as a great temperance reformer, and nothing else. I am willing to endorse his philanthropic course; and I hope it will be endorsed by the Senate of the United States. I hope now that the Senate will not understand me as intending to place them in an unpleasant or embarrassing situation; and I hope every one will disembarrass himself by the consciousness that he is doing right, in whatever position others may think proper to place him.

The question being then taken upon the motion to lay the resolution on the table, it was decided in the negative—yeas 19, nays 34, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Berrien, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Clemens, Davis of Mississippi, Dawson, Hunter, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Phelps, Rusk, Sebastian, Turney, Underwood, and Yulee—19.

NAYS—Messrs. Baldwin, Bell, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clark, Clay, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Foote, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Houston, Jones, Mangum, Miller, Morris, Seward, Shields, Smith, Soule, Stewart, Sturgeon, Upham, Wales, Walker, and Whitcomb—34.

The VICE PRESIDENT then stated the question on the adoption of the resolution, and the yeas and nays were demanded and ordered.

Mr. DAVIS, of Mississippi. I will at this time speak on a single point which has controlled me in my vote upon the question of laying on the table, and which will control me in my final vote upon this resolution. I own that we are, as an organized body, charged with the public business, and bound to decide upon political questions; but we have no power to give a vote of thanks to high character or virtue, save that which has been rendered to the public service of the United States. We have not, as an organized body, a charter to grant diplomas for merit or virtue, nor for benefits done to mankind or to any department of science. This sir, is not a temperance meeting. It may be very well for Senators, as I have done myself, to express, in commendatory language, their high regard for the services of Father Mathew, but this being the Senate of the United States, and not a temperance meeting, it is not a fit place to measure the value of his services in that cause.

Mr. President, I shall vote against the resolution, which is a compliment extraordinary, without precedent, and tendered to services rendered in a foreign country to the cause of temperance, and as one which does not come within the metes and bounds of the Senate of the United States—one which we are not charged with, which would belong to us as individuals, if we were pleased to adjourn, and go into a temperance meeting, and do as we thought proper; but we are here as the representatives of constituents, charged with transacting the public business, from which this is wholly apart.

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. President, before the vote is taken on this resolution, I think it necessary that I should say a word. This is a question of privilege. I have asked myself what part of the character of this distinguished advocate of temperance we were proposing to honor by granting this extraordinary privilege. Is it because he is a member of the temperance society, or a leader in the great temperance reform? If that is the reason why we are to grant this great privilege, are there not thousands of individuals within the limits of our own country, who are as well worthy of that distinction on that ground? Is it because he is a minister of the gospel, and, perhaps, has nobly discharged his duty in that capacity? If it is on that ground, have we not thousands in our own country whose whole lives have been devoted to the interests of humanity? Have we no man within the limits of the United States, who is entitled to receive this privilege on the part of the Senate of the U. S. If we set a precedent of this sort, what is to be the limit of it? If you say that the great leader of the temperance reform in another country may receive it, will not the answer be, have you not great leaders in your own country? If it be said that it is because a distinguished minister of the Gospel is among us, it will be replied that there are others equally distinguished and deserving in our own country.

When we come to confer a distinction of this sort, I beg you to consider that there are various denominations of Christians in the country. There are Catholics and there are Protestants; and it is not, in my opinion, the province of this body to make a precedent in favor of one class in preference to another. Disconnected from his character as a temperance lecturer or a temperance reformer, is there a gentleman on this floor that would vote this high compliment to the reverend gentleman to whom it is proposed to be paid? I have every feeling of kindness for him, and no man would go farther in extending to him hospitality and testimonials of good feeling; but I am unwilling that the Senate should establish this precedent. Suppose that now, for the purpose of embarrassing this resolution, I were to present, in addition to the name of Father Mathew, the name of a distinguished citizen of my own State, alike celebrated in the cause of temperance, and in all the virtues that constitute the Christian and the minister—what disposition would you make of such an amendment? Shall we make this a precedent? I disconnect this question with all the circumstances that have been thrown around it, and view the object above them, and go upon principle. I trust that Father Mathew will so understand it. My objection to the resolution is an objection to the precedent which it will establish. I believe sincerely that the views of the senator from South Carolina are in accordance with the dignity of this body.

Mr. FOOTE. Mr. President, I rise to state that, though I have not at all changed my opinion in regard to the merits of the venerable personage whom it is proposed, by the resolution before us, to accord a seat upon the floor, yet the reasons assigned by the honorable Senator from South Carolina [Mr. CALHOUN] for refusing to establish a new precedent, seem to me to be too cogent to be resisted. I had supposed that the honorable Senator from Wisconsin had certainly looked into the precedents of this body before he offered his resolution. I had no idea that the adoption of it would be an innovation upon all former usages. This seems evidently to be the case. However much I may esteem the illustrious Apostle of Temperance, I shall not vote to establish a new precedent, in opposition to the judgments of so many worthy Senators, even to do *him* honor.

The question being then taken on the adoption of the resolution, it was decided in the affirmative, by yeas 33, nays 18, as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Baldwin, Bell, Bradbury, Bright, Cass, Chase, Clarke, Clay, Cooper, Davis of Massachusetts, Dickinson, Dodge of Iowa, Douglas, Downs, Felch, Greene, Hamlin, Houston, Jones, Mangum, Miller, Norris, Seward, Shields, Smith, Soule, Stewart, Sturgeon, Underwood, Upham, Wales, Walker, and Whitcomb—33.

NAYS—Messrs. Atchison, Badger, Berrien, Borland, Butler, Calhoun, Clemens, Davis, of Mississippi, Dawson, Foote, Hunter, Mason, Morton, Pearce, Rusk, Sebastian, Turney, and Yulee—18.

So the resolution was adopted.

DEBATE ON THE APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES.

In the House of Representatives there was a spicy debate, upon a motion to apoint the committees by ballot, which was lost. In the course of this, Mr. Giddings said he had been in favor of any Northern Whig for Speaker who was in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. In reply—

Mr. WINTHROP would only say a single word. Mr. Giddings has represented him as against the North, and Mr. Johnson of Tennessee accused him of having so acted in the appointment of committees as to break down the South. He was willing to let these arguments go.

Mr. GIDDINGS asked the gentleman which of the two was correct.

Mr. WINTHROP, without intending anything disrespectful, did not intend to answer personal interrogatories. He had seen statements under Mr. Giddings's signature, which were without a shadow of foundation and fact. Mr. Giddings voted against me two years ago, for a reason which he stated as a fact, but which was utterly false. He accused me of going into a Whig caucus, and making a speech in favor of the war. I have testimony which the House and the gentleman will be obliged to trust, that this is an entirely erroneous statement; he is no longer entitled to an answer. [Laughter.]

Mr. GIDDINGS. The gentleman has read the statement of Culver. Is it true, or false?

Mr. WINTHROP. I deny the whole statement it is false. The gentleman stated that he had refused to vote for a Speaker who had sedulously constructed the Committee for the District of Columbia with a view to preserve, protect and maintain the slave trade in this District.

Mr. GIDDINGS. I said, arrange a committee which protected slavery.

Mr. WINTHROP. I take the statement as he now makes it. The committee appointed by me reported to the House a bill to abolish the slave trade in the District; and when a motion was made to lay it on the table, six out of the nine voted against it.

Mr. GIDDINGS. I understand the gentleman says that a bill was reported to abolish the slave trade. I pronounce that an unfounded and unqualified assertion. The bill only prohibits the bringing of slaves here, and did not touch the slave trade in this District.

Mr. WINTHROP. It was possible the bill did not go as far as it ought to have gone. I believe that gentlemen of the free States thought that was a great improvement, and it was even assented to by gentlemen of the South.

Mr. ROCKWELL of Massachusetts defended the Committee on Territories of last session from the attack of Mr. Giddings.

Mr. SCHENCK of Ohio defined his position, and vindicated Mr. Winthrop. He scored Mr. Giddings as bargaining for pledges before he voted for Speaker. He hoped that he would be excused for looking to the Locofoco side—to Mr. Brown—for an illustration. Mr. Schenck was a Conservative—a Unionist; and, as a Northern man, he partook of Northern opinions, but was not so ultra as some, and would not cut others off because they did not come up to his standard.

Mr. HOLMES of South Carolina was glad the gentlemen had made declarations of their opinions; and we now know that Northern men are against the rights of the South and wish to restrict them in the Territories. The South must arouse herself, and take her attitude. She has been long asleep, but is now aroused. He warned the gentlemen to beware. The Southern mind was fixed.

Mr. SCHENCK asked whether his colleague had not had an opportunity to vote for a Wilmot Proviso man, as between Winthrop and Cobb?

Mr. GIDDINGS said that Mr. Winthrop did sedulously put on the Committee on Territories a majority who refused to report the Wilmot proviso until forced to do so.

Mr. SCHENCK said, 'My colleague (Mr. Giddings) inferred Mr. Winthrop's opposition to the Wilmot Proviso. I ask, in opposition to that inference, whether Mr. Winthrop did not move the Wilmot Proviso to the Oregon bill, and whether the proviso was not put into the bill with the aid of your vote?'

Mr. GIDDINGS said that two years ago, when Mr. Winthrop was the prominent candidate for Speaker, he refused to tell what his sentiments were. He referred to his past votes and public acts.

Mr. WINTHROP said his opinions were on record. Mr. Giddings would find them there, scattered all along, for the last ten years. He denied that a colleague had called on him for his opinions. Mr. Winthrop was only asked by Mr Palfrey to say how he would appoint the committees, and this he refused to tell. He was not asked whether he was in favor of the Wilmot proviso, or against it: whether for or against the slave trade; whether for or against the coastwise slave trade.

Mr. ROCKWELL understood Mr. Giddings to say, the Speaker of the last Congress appointed the Committee on Territories, who refused to report the Wilmot proviso, and that they did not do so until they were ordered by a vote from the House.

Mr. GIDDINGS would change his words, and say neglected.

Mr. ROCKWELL denied this as entirely untrue.

Mr. GIDDINGS. Records show the fact. I state the committee did neglect, until peremptorily ordered by the House. The Committee on the District of Columbia saw fifty-two slaves paraded on the avenue, and there was the Committee, who knew the facts, looking on; and at the next session, the same gentlemen who then protected the slave trade, were again placed on that Committee. You, Mr. Speaker, could have done no worse than your predecessor. There is a hope you will do better. He wanted the country to know that the Whigs went into the contest with their eyes open, and put you in the chair. If the Whigs had voted for Mr. Strong, he would have been elected.

Mr. GIDDINGS, by consent of the House, again went over his views, and detailed past political history, and arraigned the Whigs for their alleged inconsistency, in voting for a slaveholder for President, while they were in favor of free soil, and afterward, on taking office, would not vote for a man who degraded his fellow-man by slavery. If there was any crime he would punish by death, it was trafficing in human flesh. He would as soon vote for Williams, Slatter, or any other slave-dealer, as he would for the men who sustain them in their accursed avocation; and, before God, his hands would be as clean and pure in the one case as in the other. [He was several times interrupted, but was, by the consent of the House, enabled to finish his speech.]

The debate then ended, and permission was given to the Speaker to appoint the Committees of the House.

CONGRESS.

The questions concerning the boundaries of Texas and the claims of that State upon New Mexico, and the Constitution of California, have come up quickly in the U. S. Senate. On Thursday, Mr. Foote submitted the following for future consideration:—

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress at this session to establish suitable territorial governments, for California, for Deseret, and for New Mexico.

Mr. Clemens of Alabama submitted the following resolution, which lies over under the rule:—

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to inform the Senate, as early as practicable, whether any person has been by him appointed Civil or Military Governor of California since the 4th day of March last; and if so, who has been so appointed, and what compensation has been allowed him. Also, that he be requested to inform the Senate whether any agent has been appointed by the Executive or any of the Departments of the Government, and sent to California, with instructions or authority to organize a State government for that territory, or to aid and advise the people within its limits in such organization; and further, that he be requested to inform the Senate how the Delegates recently assembled in California, calling themselves a Convention, were elected—by whom the qualifications of voters were fixed and determined—what those qualifications were, and by what law the time, places, and manner of holding said election was regulated; and further, that he be requested to inform the Senate whether any census of the inhabitants of said territory has been taken, and if so, by what law, and under what authority; and further, that he be requested to communicate to the Senate all orders, written or verbal, instructions or correspondence, with any person as Civil and Military Governor of California, or as agent on the part of the United States government in California; and further, that he be requested to inform the Senate whether any steps have been taken by the Executive, or any Department of the Government, to assemble a Convention in New Mexico, for the purpose of adopting a Constitution, and making application for admission into the Union, and if so, that he be requested to communicate to the Senate all orders, instructions, and papers in relation thereto; and further, that he be requested to inform the Senate upon what ground he bases the opinion expressed in his Annual Message of December 4, 1849, 'that the people of New Mexico, will, at no very distant period, present themselves for admission into the Union.'

Mr. Houston submitted the following resolution, which lies over under the rule:—

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the Senate all the official correspondence, since the 4th of March last, between the government of the United States and the military authority stationed at Santa Fe; also, all the correspondence between the State of Texas and the United States government, relating to the boundary or occupation of the terrritory of Texas by the troops of the United States; also, the reason why the judicial authorities of the State of Texas have not been recognized by the military authorities at Santa Fe.

[illegible] a letter from Washington to the New York Evening Post, it is stated that Mr. Benton was not absolutely ostracised by the Democratic caucus of the Senate, that he was allowed to take a secondary place upon an important committee of which he had previously been the head, but was shut out as chairman. Upon a full convention of Democratic Senators, there would be 19 Southern men to 15 Northern, and of course the Southerners would have the preponderance in caucus in appointing the committees. The fear of too far offending the Northern members prevented the majority from shutting out Mr. Benton entirely, as they shut out Mr. Chase, the Free Soil member from Ohio. The last named gentleman has no place whatever on the Senate committees. Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, was let off by his own request but he could not have had a place upon any important committee, if he desired it.

The Tribune says of the composition of the Senate committees—

The cast of the standing committees of the Senate is exceedingly sectional, the judiciary committee being composed of three slaveholders (including chairman) and three non-slaveholders. The Committee on the District of Columbia has a pro-slavery chairman, two members from the South and two from the North. But the Committee on the Territories is the most sectional of all, having a slaveholding chairman (Senator Douglas of Illinois, who owns a plantation in Mississippi) and but one Northern member.

New York is represented on but one committee, while the little State of Arkansas is represented on six, South Carolina three, Mississippi four, Virginia four, Louisiana four. Senators King of Alabama and Atchison of Missouri, are each on two committees. The South have a majority in fifteen of the committees, and the North in twelve. Three of these committees are entirely composed of Southern men and two of Northern. Sixteen of the chairmen are from the South, and eleven from the North.

The people of the North may see what chance they have of being fairly represented on the Senate committees, while they constitute so large a majority of the nation.

From the Boston Chronotype.

CASTE SCHOOLS.

In the majority report in favor of continuing in our free schools a separation founded on the caste of color, great use was made of the opinion of Dr. James McCune Smith, of New York. Dr. Smith is a man of color, of singular independence, educated at Glasgow, and enjoying a high reputation, professionally and otherwise, in New York. His views as a man and a man of color are undoubtedly important, but what they would be in regard to the question of caste schools neither we nor any one who knew Dr. Smith could entertain a doubt. Therefore, when we saw them, in the aforesaid Report, signed by Andrew Bigelow, Sampson Reed, Horace Dupee and Edward Beecher (!) twisted to the support of that vile nuisance in our institutions, we knew there had been iniquity somewhere.

The following correspondence will show where it was. It will show that Dr. Smith was speaking on an entirely different question from that on which he was quoted. And the gentlemen above named must have a great deal less sagacity than we have always given them credit for, if they make use of Dr. Smith as they have.

The correspondence is communicated to us by Prof. Charles L. Reason, of the new 'Central College in New York,' now soliciting funds in this city in behalf of that institution, from which he himself is a living proof that *caste* is excluded.

Mr. Editor,—Will you do me and the public the favor to publish the accompanying letter from my friend, Dr. James McCune Smith, of New York. It answers a short communication from me, expressive of my regret that he should have given the influence of his pen and name against one of the plainest and most valuable rights of his Boston fellow-citizens, as evinced in the 'Report of a Special Committee of the Grammar School Board, adverse to the Petition of Sundry Colored Persons,' praying, in behalf of their children, for free access to the Public Schools, and also for the abolition of the exclusive 'Smith School.'

If there is any weight to be attached to the true opinion of one who is, as the report observes, 'said to be the best educated man of any of his complexion in the United States,' I sincerely hope that this letter will incline the honorable Judges in whose hands the matter now rests favorably to the claims of the petitioners; that their Honors will place a proper estimate on the experience of 'a man highly gifted,' who shows in his own developement, the superior advantages of mixed institutions; and that they will scrutinize rigidly the one-sided facts presented in the majority report, so as not to give an adverse decision on the testimony of any *misled* witnesses.

Respectfully, CHARLES L. REASON.

New York, Dec. 21, 1849.

Professor Charles L. Reason—Dear Sir,—In reply to your note received to-day, I send you the copy of a letter received by me on Monday, August 6th, 1849, touching colored schools in Boston.

Boston, Aug. 2, 1849.

J. McCune Smith, Esq.:

You will, dear sir, readily pardon the liberty I take in addressing you when you know that the subject upon which I write is one intimately connected with the education of the colored youth of Boston—a subject in which I know you feel a deep and sincere interest, though you are not living among us. For some years past, we have (unlike most of our sister cities of the North) had appointed, as teachers of our schools, persons *not* identified with ourselves by complexion, and common wrongs, and prejudice, &c., but have had those who are identified with our oppressors, and in many instances possessed of their spirit; consequently, we have suffered much from the lack of interest, the carelessness, and, in some cases, the prejudice of our instructors.

The colored schools in this city, especially the grammar schools, are in a most deplorable condition; there has been great lack of true interest manifested by the teachers, who seem to *think*, as well as say, they can teach the *colored* children as they please. Now, the colored people, under these circumstances, feel deeply aggrieved, and are stirring to obtain for our schools *colored* teachers, such as are capable and devoted. We want those identified with ourselves, because they know our wants, their interest is ours, and the improvement and elevation of colored children naturally improves and elevates the race. I need not enumerate the advantages of educated and devoted colored teachers over white ones, taking into consideration the position of the colored people in this country. You, in your situation, see the whole thing, and what has constrained me thus boldly to address you, is to request you to give us your opinion, as briefly as possible, on the following questions—by doing which you will greatly oblige the colored people of Boston.

How many scholars are there in New York city taught by colored teachers?

Do you think that under existing circumstances the colored teachers succeed better than white ones would?

Have the people and the children more confidence in them?

Are the schools good, and well attended?

We have been advised to endeavor to obtain the services of Mr. Paul, (Thomas Paul,) a graduate of Dartmouth College, and a man who brings the highest recommendations from the faculty of Dartmouth, and from the School Committe of Providence, (where he is teaching, and has been for four or five years,) of his superior qualifications and great success as a teacher. Mr. Paul being an educated man of color, I believe he would succeed well. Having, however, often heard him speak of you in the highest terms, we presumed it probable you were personally or by reputation acquainted with Mr. Paul. Now, will you do us the kindness to say what you think of the expediency of appointing Mr. Paul as Principal of our Grammar School. Your standing and position in society, the very many opportunities you have for obtaining all kinds of knowledge in reference to colored schools, your acknowledged impartiality and friendship for the race, cause us to attach the highest importance to your opinions, and we feel all confidence that you will most familiarly give us your views in your brief and distinct style.

An immediate answer is requested, and will be of all importance, as on next Monday, August 6th, we go before the School Committee on the question, and we want your reply, of course, before that time, if possible.

Hoping that this may find you and yours well, I subscribe myself, Your humble servant,

THOMAS P. SMITH,
38 Brattle street, Boston.

From the above letter, you will perceive, my dear sir, that the question as to the relative merits of mixed and separate schools was not raised by Mr. T. Paul Smith; nor was my reply to that gentleman written with the remotest view to such question; for could be found to argue that separate schools, founded on caste, could under any circumstances, be preferable to *Free* Schools, attended by *all* children, irrespective of color or condition. It has ever been my solemn conviction, that separate organizations of all kinds, based upon the color of the skin, keep alive predjudice against color; and that no organizations do this more effectually than colored schools; and it has been only as the choice of the least between two evils that you and I have labored to improve the colored schools in this city—believing them to be only better than no schools at all.

All arguments in favor of the especial appropriateness of colored teachers for colored children, must cease when colored children are freely and equally admitted into white schools; in this latter case, all the signs of degradation are removed; free and manly instincts—the grand instinct of equality—grow out of the facts of equality; colored teachers are no longer needed for the especial purpose of teaching colored children that they are free and equal—these children feel, I know, that they are free and equal—and it is only in proportion to their merits and acquirements, only in free and open competition, that colored teachers should then take their equal chances with others in obtaining teacherships in *Common Schools*.

Mr. Smith's letter I answered in good faith, and in the belief that the struggle of our people in Boston, from being in favor of schools common to all children, had narrowed down to the effect to have colored teachers for colored schools. I am glad to find that I was mistaken in this opinion. God bless the brave people in Boston, who, against the aristocracy of money and of the skin, are doing manly battle in behalf of the *oneness* of all his human creatures.

I beg that you will give publicity to Mr. Smith's letter, entire, with these remarks appended; not that my opinions can have much value, but in order that the twist given them to the wrong side may be fairly unravelled, and that they may afford no excuse for those who labor for the perpetuation of caste.

Very respectfully, your friend and servant,

JAMES M'CUNE SMITH.

AMERICAN SLAVERY.

PUBLIC MEETING IN NEWCASTLE.

On Tuesday evening, a public meeting was held in the Lecture Room, Nelson street, to welcome to the North of England William Wells Brown, an American fugitive slave, and to hear from him an account of the present condition of three millions of his fellow-bondsmen in the United States. The room was crowded long before the time announced for the commencement of the meeting, and numbers went away, unable to gain admission. The Mayor (Joseph Crawhall, Esq.) presided, and, introducing Mr. Brown, said the object of the meeting was to afford an opportunity of hearing the horrors of slavery from an individual who has endured them in his own person.

The Rev. George Bell proposed, and the Rev. J. Pringle seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—'That this meeting tenders its warmest and most cordial congratulations to Mr. William Wells Brown, on his visit to the North of England. That, repudiating the doctrine of the inferiority of the African race, and regarding Mr. Brown as a representative of this oppressed people, they unreservedly recognise his right to perfect social, political, and religious equality, a right received by the hands of his Creator, but of which he has been robbed by a nominally republican and Christian nation. That having achieved his own deliverance from slavery, and resolved to consecrate all his energies for the purpose of effecting the emancipation of three millions of his brethren in bonds, this meeting bids him God-speed in his holy mission on both sides of the Atlantic.'

The Rev. J. G. Rogers, B. A., proposed, and Matthew Forster, Esq., seconded the following resolution, which was also carried unanimously:—'That this meeting, while desirous of rendering a full and respectful acknowledgment of whatever is honorable in the national character of a people having a common origin with themselves, the requirements of truth and justice require from Englishmen a sorrowful but emphatic declaration, that the constitutional and legislative establishment of slavery in America, is a virtual destruction of its claim to be regarded by the world as a really free, independent, and enlightened nation.'

Mr. Brown was then asked if it was true that many of the slaves of America preferred slavery to freedom. He replied that he had never seen one who did not want his liberty; and he mentioned the fact that 12,000 ran away every year, as a proof that [illegible] were not satisfied with their condition.

Mr. John Mawson then proposed, and Mr. [illegible] seconded, a vote of thanks to the Mayor for [illegible] ness in presiding, which was carried unanimously, and the meeting separated.—*Guardian.*

The Liberator.

BOSTON, JANUARY 4, 1850.

No Union with Slaveholders

☞ The severe indisposition of the Editor, [illegible] the past week, must account for the barrenness of [illegible] number of the Liberator in regard to editorial matter. He is now rapidly on the recovery, and will doubtless be able to attend to his duties as usual, in a few days.—Y.

TO THE SUBSCRIBERS OF THE LIBERATOR.

The undersigned, as the Committee having charge the financial concerns of the Liberator, [illegible] under the necessity of announcing to its subscribers that it has become imperative upon them to raise the price of the paper to the terms upon which it was afforded previous to their reduction to two dollars, in 1847. We regret, as much as any of the friends of the Liberator can do, this necessity; but the state of the subscription list, and a deficiency of several hundred dollars at the close of the present year, leave us no alternative.

At the former price, $2 50, for two or three years previous to the reduction, the receipts of the paper had quite, or very nearly, covered its expenses, including Mr. Garrison's salary. We were induced to make the change at the urgent instance of several of the truest friends of the Liberator, who believed that its circulation might be greatly increased, if the price were reduced. We are compelled to say, after the experience of two years, that the experiment has failed. We are sure, therefore, of the cordial agreement of all who appreciate its value in the progress of a return to the former price, of their warm co-operation with us in our endeavors to place its pecuniary affairs upon a permanent foundation.

We believe that it is in vain to hope that a very numerous body of subscribers can be procured, at any price, to a paper of the radical character of the Liberator. It is too much to expect that men will be willing to pay for the scourge that chastises them, however deserved or wholesome the correction may be. But we do not believe that those who can estimate its value as an Agent of Reform, will be deterred from taking it by any terms of subscription necessary to its due support; still less, that any who now enjoy its influences will abandon it for this trifling advance. They will remember that this addition to the price, moderate as it is to the individual subscriber, makes a difference of near A THOUSAND dollars in the receipts of the paper, as it now stands.

The terms of the Liberator, then, from the beginning of the next volume, will be restored to the sum of TWO DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS, per *annum*, which, we hope, in time, will enable us to meet its expenses. But, for the present, we must earnestly request those friends of the paper who, last year, cheerfully consented to pay FIVE dollars for their copy, to continue, or increase, their liberality. Such assistance will be indispensable for a longer or shorter season. As soon as it can be dispensed with, we shall gratefully release them from giving this direction to their Anti-Slavery funds.

FRANCIS JACKSON,
ELLIS GRAY LORING,
SAMUEL PHILBRICK,
EDMUND QUINCY,
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

Boston, Dec. 24, 1849.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS A. S. SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Boston, on Wednesday, January 23d, commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. and will probably continue in session the two succeeding days. The signs of the times are so auspicious for the friends of emancipation, that a large and spirited attendance on their part is confidently expected. Such are the facilities of railroad conveyance, every part of the Commonwealth ought to be well represented. We cordially invite our friends, beyond the limits of Massachusetts, to be with us on the approaching anniversary. The Slave Power is beginning to falter—fresh adherents are daily rallying around the standard of Liberty—and the cry of 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS' is causing the knees of the oppressor to tremble. We must press onward until our work is accomplished, the slave liberated from his chains, and the land purged from its stains

REFORM MOVEMENTS IN ENGLAND.

GLASGOW, Dec. 14, 1849.

MR. WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Boston, U. S.:

MY DEAR FRIEND,—Probably a short notice in regard to moral and social reformatory movements here may be acceptable. Though far too much apathy prevails, still the citizens of Glasgow have, during the past year, from time to time, by assembling in public meetings, evinced that at least a considerable portion of them are awake to the calls of liberty, and desire to advance its progress.

In Ecclesiasticals, which generally are deemed most importance, the Voluntary Question, or that every man should pay his own minister, if he thinks it proper that ministers should be paid, which, up to seven years since, was the standard topic of pulpit sermons and prayers, of platform addresses, and of numerous pamphlets, has for several years, by the apparently concerted action of most of the dissenting ministers, been, as far as they are concerned, lulled to sleep in Scotland. Only some extraneous cause, such as a visit from a deputation of the London Anti-State Church Association, can now galvanize them into a public meeting, at which a few words are dragged out of them as to the important and scriptural subject which has occupied the attention of the audience, and the pleasure and instruction all present must have received from the able and lucid exposition just given by their talented friends from a distance. On such an occasion here, two years ago, a Committee was named, with numbers of the dissenting ministers on it, and now they were again really to combat the injustice and oppression of state churches. This Committee has done nothing. When Mr. Miall was here, and had a public meeting a few months ago, even the Committee seemed to be given up. There is no doubt a cause for all this apathy of the dissenting ministers, (with a few honorable exceptions,) so different from the importance they attached to this subject a few years since. In England, the cause makes progress, and Scotland will surely not long lag behind.

The Evangelical Alliance held its annual meeting in Glasgow in October last, but there was little to interest in its proceedings, which chiefly consisted of mutual laudations, and encomiums on Christian love for the brethren; which, translated into common language, just means their approval of such as concur in the special sectarian creed and dogmas which the Alliance has pronounced for. Whilst congratulating themselves on the accession of members from the Continent, and the formation of a branch organization in the British West Indies, they had not a *single* word to say regarding their American friends. True it is, that the dear and esteemed brethren, Drs. Cox, Olin, Patton, Smyth, &c., with whom they wept tears of joy, and *literally* hugged in their fond embraces, in 1846, in token of their union, were entirely unmentioned. In fact, the existence of the United States, large though it is, was not once alluded to. There is a cause for this extraordinary state of oblivion, and slavery is that cause. The American branch admits slaveholders, and the Evangelical Alliance dare not, in the face of the world and of Britain, declare that it could hold Christian fellowship and communion with slaveholders or their apologists. Can you tell us what the American branch is about, seeing no intelligence can be obtained of it here from the Alliance?

The share which, on your visit to Britain, in 1846, you had with George Thompson, Henry C. Wright, and Frederick Douglass, in calling attention to the intended reception of slaveholders as members of the Alliance, enlightened and aroused public opinion, overwhelmed and rendered nugatory, and finally silenced, the special pleading and casuistry of some of the ablest ministers in Britain, and forced the Alliance to declare for no fellowship with slaveholders, and that slaveholders and their apologists could not be admitted to membership in the Alliance as Christians. This decision has been most important, and is destined hereafter to produce important results on the anti-slavery cause. The presence of you all in Britain at that juncture was certainly providental, if any event is entitled to be so called, and the results of this matter alone are an ample recompense for all your sacrifices and labors in your visit to this country.

We have had several public meetings to express our sympathy with the Romans and Hungarians in their struggles for liberty, and latterly with their refugees, requesting our Government to use its influence, by peaceful means, on their behalf.

The prevention of the landing of some Roman refugees at Malta, by the Governor of that island, Mr. O'Ferrall, himself a Roman Catholic, and who had previously allowed a number of priests and Jesuits to land there, when they thought fit to fly at the outbreak of the revolution, has been universally condemned by Britons of all parties. Lord John Russell, the Premier, has justified O'Ferrall, and a letter of his to this effect, in reply to Joseph Hume, which has been published in the newspapers, has given great offence to all, and greatly increased Lord John's unpopularity. This business will form an important subject of debate in the coming session of Parliament, and the Whigs may be expected still further to eat dirt, as the Turks say, and destroy their characters, in the endeavor to brave it through, but which it is very doubtful if they will succeed in, corrupt though our Parliament be.

On the subject of Parliamentary and Financial Reform, so interesting to the great mass of our people, we have had several meetings, the last, but not the least of which was held on the evening of the 26th of November, in the City Hall, to receive a deputation from the National Association in London, consisting of Sir Joshua Walmsley, M. P., and George Thompson, M. P. The newspapers sent you contain very full reports of this interesting meeting, which was the best held in Glasgow for a long time, on any subject; its spirit was good, hearty, and earnest. One of the members of Parliament for Glasgow was in the Chair; he goes heartily for the movement, and has voted for it in Parliament, as has also our other member. Sir J. Walmsley is an excellent, straightforward, honest and intellectual looking man; he has been an extensive merchant, but has now retired from business. He speaks home to his subject without any superfluous words; at once and continually shows he is in earnest.

George Thompson is so well known to the anti-slavery friends and to yourself, that I need only say that he continues to exert the same powerful, telling and convincing powers of oratory for which he has so long stood all but unequalled in Britain. I was rejoiced to see that he was again strong in health, knowing that he had been considerably worn down some months ago. No former effort surpassed his speech on that evening. His opening, where he showed that whether he pleaded for the British slave, the American slave, the abolition of the Corn Laws, or for Parliamentary Reform, his actuating principle was the same, namely, the overthrow of injustice and despotism, in their varied forms, and the establishment of human liberty and brotherhood, was a splendid burst of the highest eloquence, and held the immense audience breathless with intense feeling. His speech rivetted attention throughout, and during the two hours it lasted, all was undiminished attention.

Sir J. W. and G. T. have had meetings in Edinburgh, Paisley, Perth and Greenock, of the most respectable and enthusiastic character—in the first three cities, the Provosts (Mayors, you would call them) in the chair; and they have most respectable invitations from many other towns, which they are unable at present to overtake. This cause must progress to its accomplishment ere long, in spite of all the efforts of the aristocracy and Government placemen in favor of the present system, which works so well for them. The middle and working classes are coming cordially together upon this question, and ere long every householder in Britain will have a voice in choosing his representative in Parliament. There can be little room for doubting that a House of Commons so elected will very quickly go to work to relieve the burdens of the nation, by reducing the army and navy, abolishing useless sinecures, curtailing the shamefully extravagant salaries now paid to our aristocratic ambassadors, and placemen of all sorts, and in putting an end to the entail laws and the game laws, which have caused so much expatriation, oppression and crime.

The temperance cause progresses, and has received some fresh impulses of late. Societies have within the two months past been formed, to some extent, in the Free Church, by ministers and members of that body, and many new recruits may be expected from this quarter, which, in regard to abstinence, is entirely fallow ground.

All abstainers here regret and condemn the abandonment of principle by Father Mathew, and his bowing the knee at the shrine of slavery. So thoroughly is this feeling general throughout Great Britain, that I have never noticed a single journal seek in any way to defend or apologize for him, whilst by many he has been most soundly condemned. Poor man! he has cast from him all consistency of character as a philanthropist, which even a bitter repentance will never fully regain for him; and though he should stay with the Southern slaveholders,—which, unless he repents, is the best thing he can do, there will be few regrets over his absence.

I am, dear friend, yours always,
ANDREW PATON.

ANOTHER INTERESTING LETTER FROM ENGLAND.

NEWCASTLE TYNE, Dec. 14, 1849.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

For many months I have entertained the pleasing anticipation of one day conversing with you through the medium of a letter, to-day I have resolved that my anticipation shall be realized.

Since parting with you at the railway station here, four eventful years have rolled away, and their passing hours and days and weeks and months have left impressions for the weal or wo of the human race which no mind can unravel. Not only has our attention been arrested by world-wide events, but in our domestic circles we have passed through scenes exerting great influences on our character and destiny. You have been called to pass through scenes of sorrow, and while gazing upon the lifeless form of a beloved child, to feel a thrill of anguish which can only touch the chords and vibrate through a parent's heart—an anguish which can only be soothed and comforted by faith in God's great future, and which time alone can efface. Again, you have passed through a long period of personal affliction. Anxiously did we anticipate the arrival of each mail, to know how it fared with you; and glad were we at length to learn that your valued life was spared to your family and to the world; and though your place had been so ably and so nobly filled, still we rejoiced with much joy when you were again able to take your seat and wield your pen in the editorial chair.

Apart from domestic and personal sufferings, you have had to pass through other trials; you have had to mourn over the faithlessness of professed friends of the oppressed, and to bear the railings and persecutions of men who can neither appreciate your character nor understand your motives. Well, shall we be discouraged or driven from our work by these things? Has it not been thus in all ages? One generation persecutes and murders, and another builds tombs and monuments to their victims! Strange, inconsistent being is man! How much faith in God and in the noblest aspirations of the human soul does it require to realize an idea of the 'good time coming'! I write this sentence because the tolling minute bells and the booming, hideous noise of cannon salute my ear, in *honor* of the burial of the Dowager Queen Adelaide! One hundred thousand a year she cost us while living, and some thousands must needs be spent in senseless pomp over her dead remains. The folly and wickedness of our *rulers*, I will not say our people, is almost boundless, and all this amid such revelations of horror as are daily brought before our minds in the pages of the Morning Chronicle, from which we learn that multitudes of the women of England, by toiling at the needle from early dawn till midnight, and often both night and day, are not able to obtain sufficient for their support, but in addition to their labor, are driven to prostitution, in order to help them eke out a miserable existence. When will the great problem, 'the rights of labor,' be solved?

I must now touch upon a subject in which you take deepest interest, and which I am sure will afford you greatest pleasure. Two weeks since, according to previous arrangement, your friend and valued co-laborer in the great abolition cause, Wm. W. Brown, arrived at my house, and at once became a member of my family circle, and I hardly need tell you how much we have been delighted with his society.

Having some expectation that our esteemed friend George Thompson would meet W. W. Brown at his first public meeting, we deferred making arrangements, being anxious to secure Mr. Thompson's valued aid. As that could not be accomplished, we arranged for a meeting last night, Wednesday, the 12th instant, the Mayor having been waited upon and kindly agreeing to preside, and announcements were made accordingly. All day yesterday I felt an anxious alternating between hope and fear as to the failure or success of the meeting—anxious, on Mr. Brown's account, as first impressions are most lasting. Well, the time came, and lo! the spacious Lecture Hall was crowded to suffocation—hundreds having to go away, unable to obtain admission. It was even more crowded than on the memorable night when you and Mr. Thompson honored us with your presence. Well, we had a glorious meeting. Mr. Brown must have felt that he occupied a proud position, surrounded by so many influential people, called upon to address so vast an audience, presided over by the chief magistrate of such an important borough. Mr. Brown spoke nearly two hours, with a telling effect. He has in him all the elements of a first-rate popular speaker—a comprehensive knowledge of this subject, great presence of mind, a good voice, and much humor. His singing will, in this country, as in America, add much to his popularity. All I have spoken to were much delighted with him, and I sincerely hope his future meetings in this town and neighborhood will be equally successful. Though in London and other places Mr. Brown has received no encouragement in prosecuting his mission from the old anti-slavery friends—neither, with the countenance of Geo. Thompson, does he need it much—still, I am glad to say, that in Newcastle he meets with the cordial sympathy and support of all parties. I am the more glad of this, because he has their aid without any compromise of principle on his part. This is as it ought to be; not to yield an inch to secure any man's favor, is the only way to maintain our consistency, and ultimately we are more likely to secure the respect of all, at least, of all whose respect is worth having. I had read and heard of Wm. Brown's proceedings and character in America—I had seen the account of his farewell meeting in Boston, and was in consequence led to feel a deep interest in him. It was therefore with much pleasure I met him in August last, in the rooms of the Peace Society, in New Broad street, London. He was introduced to me as the *Reverend* Mr. Brown, from America. You may guess how the word *Reverend* startled me and grated upon my ears. I thought I had met with somebody else, and asked if it was not Wm. Wells Brown I had the pleasure of speaking to. 'Yes,' said William, 'it is the same.' I then felt at home with him, for I confess that there is something so repulsive to my feelings in that title, that I look upon its owner with a considerable amount of jealousy till I get to know who and what he is. *How* or *why* they gave William that title I can't tell, but will inquire of him. Having crossed the channel on our mission of Peace to Paris, I next met with Wm. W. Brown at Boulogne, and from that place, along with our esteemed friend, R. D. Webb, of Dublin, and others, we went in the same carriage to Paris. On our journey, we had much interesting conversation. Of the sittings of the Peace Congress you have heard much comments from me are therefore unnecessary. I may, however, say, that no incident in the course of those meetings was to me of more interest than the moment when Wm. Brown came forth, and in the presence of the greatest statesmen of the age, denounced that war spirit in America which kept in chains and bondage one-sixth part of its population; and then when Victor Hugo, the eloquent President of the meeting, and others equally distinguished, shook him so warmly by the hand, it was a deeply interesting sight, a memorable era in the life of the Fugitive Slave, a glorious recognition of the right of his three million brethren in bonds to social, civil, political and religious equality. How humiliating to the slaveholders of America to find one of its victims meeting with such marks of distinguished regard in the most refined and polished city in the world. Full of equal interest was his interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs and his lady, at the magnificent soiree given to the Peace Delegates.

My letter is extending to an unreasonable length, but before closing, and while writing about Paris, I must not omit to say, that one event that gave me almost more pleasure than anything else during that altogether pleasing and delightful journey, was my visit to Mrs. Chapman and her family, at Versailles. I could only spare a short time with her, and would not have missed the opportunity on any account. To that visit I shall look back with greatest pleasure. She is a noble woman, one of the brightest ornaments of her sex. As such I have long regarded her. I felt it an honor to converse with her, and a privilege to shake her by the hand. And then there were her interesting sister, and lovely children, like their mother, with eyes sparkling, and countenances radiant with intelligence. We talked a great deal in a few minutes. I was obliged to hasten away, and felt afraid also to occupy too much of her valuable time, as she had many calling upon her. My little visit has left a delightfully pleasing impression on my mind, which will not easily be effaced.

Friday morning, Dec. 14.

I left off writing this at 9 o'clock this morning, and as the mail closes in a short time, I must close.

Last night, W. W. Brown delivered an address on Temperance, in the same hall, which was again full. I was astonished to see so large an audience. His speech was exceedingly interesting. To-night he lectures again in the same place, on American Slavery. We have just been waiting on the ex-mayor, and we expect he will preside over the meeting.

Wm. W. Brown is now spending a few days with Henry and Anna Richardson, who are exceedingly kind to him, and for the interest they take in him deserve high praise.

We have lately had George Thompson here, lecturing on the Financial and Parliamentary Reform movement, an agitation which I expect will be fraught with great results. His labors in the cause, like his anti-slavery and other efforts, are unwearied. Wherever he goes, he has large, exciting and unanimous meetings. If the middle and working classes will only combine in this great movement, ere long success is certain.

We had the pleasure of Mr. Thompson's company two evenings, and had some interesting conversation. He contemplates visiting America next autumn, and spending the winter with you; and we all rejoice in the prospect of his having a stall at your great Bazaar in 1850. I hope he will. Our ladies will all work for him with great zeal, and I am sure his presence in such a character would be a memorable event in the history of your Bazaar.

I have just got a proof slip from the Guardian office, containing a short report of our meeting, with the resolutions. I am afraid the paper itself will be too late for the mail. The report would have been much longer, but they were so full of other matter. W. W. Brown is now beside me; he has just got a letter from Wendell Phillips.

When shall we have the pleasure of seeing you again in Newcastle? If you should come, mind my house is your home, if you will accept it; and the home of any true friend whom you may endorse.

How glad we should be to see our old friend, H. C. Wright. If you see him, tell him my dear girls, grandma, my dear wife and self, all send him our warmest love.

The same love we present to yourself and family. In these expressions, W. W. Brown desires most heartily to join. Hoping to have the pleasure of a line from you some day,

Believe me, your sincere friend,
JNO. MAWSON.

P. S. Our kind love to Frederick Douglass, when you see him.

GEORGE THOMPSON.

MR. GARRISON:

In 1834, (I think it was,) I addressed, through the columns of the Boston Reformer, the following note to George Thompson, then lecturing in Boston on the subject of American slavery:—

'TO GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.:

'SIR,—Having heard much of your powers as a lecturer, and your zeal in the cause of the colored bondman or laborer at the South, permit me to ask of you your opinion of the condition of the working men of the North, and of the measures adopted by them to throw off the slavery of wealth and to check the inroads of Governments, which are daily becoming more and more alarming, threatening a complete subversion of individual and civil liberty, placing the Northern laborer under similar relations to capital that the slaves at the South hold to their masters. You plead for the black laborer at the South—are you as ready to plead for the white laborer at the North?'

Mr. Thompson probably never saw the above note. He left this country about this time, and since then, he has been before the British public as a bold defender of various reform measures, and now, with superhuman powers, is pleading for the measures of the Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association. Fifteen years have I waited for his reply. Fifteen years have I remembered George Thompson and his anti-slavery zeal. At last the answer comes—not in private lines, but in the thunder of his eloquence, from Newcastle, London, Glasgow and Edinburgh. O, how triumphant was his reply; as the raging billows of the Atlantic lash the shore, so his eloquence and truth lash the almost impregnable barriers of fraud and rapine erected by the English nobility. Such answers as we are almost weekly receiving from him are well worth waiting twice fifteen years to hear. 'I have no wish' (says he) 'to take up any cause at any time except when it is unpopular. Hitherto I have been but a mere pioneer, with mattock and spade, trying, in a feeble way, to usher into being thoughts and principles ordained to set the world right, and restore the pyramid standing on its apex to its base.' Speaking of the present movement in England, he says, 'I can honestly say, that I was impelled into this work by the conviction that it was time for me to undertake another, and I hope the last agitation of my life; for, having struggled for the personal liberty of my brethren in bonds in foreign lands, I did think I should not be slow to identify myself with the cause of political liberty among my own countrymen.' I hope the working classes of England will appreciate his worth, and profit by his counsel and energy. They will, I know they will. It cannot be otherwise while he thus

Shakes the State, and shakes the throne,

And God alone seems safe in his omnipotence. May we in this country be roused to more untiring labor for liberty and right. Fools are we to believe because we have a ballot-box and a cartridge-box liberty is secure. Hell's bargains are not binding, neither are Death's promises reliable; they have failed, and will fail again.

I hope no circumstance will interfere to prevent Mr. Thompson's visit to America next season. The mobocrats of Boston will never more assault him; the glare of Pennsylvania Hall shall encompass him like a garment; the blood of Lovejoy shall be his passport through the alluvial vallies of the broad, heaving West; the cold, damp prison-sweat of Torrey shall smite anew in his behalf the boasting hangmen of the Southern States. A. H. W.

Wood's Retreat, Dec. 25, 1849.

BATTLE ANNIVERSARY.

CONCORD, MASS., Dec. 25, 1849.

MR. GARRISON:

On the 19th of April next, we, the people of Old Concord, are to have a public celebration of the glorious battle which has immortalized our town. An oration is to be delivered by some distinguished man; salutes fired, I suppose; and perhaps a procession formed and marched to the spot where our forefathers covered themselves with glory. Who the orator is to be is not yet decided—whether myself, or Daniel Webster, or John C. Calhoun, or Edward Everett. I have, in my modest way, signified my willingness to give the oration; but I fear that unless my claims are put forth with more earnestness than my extreme diffidence will permit me to use, some one else will be selected. Now, will you be so good as to exercise your immense influence with the Committee of Arrangements in my behalf? I have not yet written out the oration, but have the subjects of discourse so arranged that there is little to do more than the mere mechanical labor of writing and committing it to memory. Perhaps it might be well to give a brief outline of the proposed course of remark. I shall begin, then, by showing that war is sometimes necessary and right, though always an evil of unspeakable magnitude; I shall prove, by a course of very original and unanswerable argument, that God's peculiar people, the Jews, were often engaged in wars; that the precepts of Jesus, the Prince of Peace, as he has been called by fanatics of modern times, if rightly interpreted, do not only permit, but counsel resistance and revenge—(for instance, has he not said, 'Thou shalt heap coals of fire on thine enemy's head'?)—or else that Jesus himself was mistaken in his notions regarding wars and fightings; or that the passages relied upon by the fanatics who oppose war are modern interpolations; then I shall prove the inevitable necessity which compelled our fathers to resort to arms in defence of their rights; and that all the wars in which we as a nation have engaged, both as regards the objects contented for and the results attained, have crowned us with a glory that shall endure till the stars of heaven grow dim by age. I shall then startle the audience by a train of remark, in which resistless argument and thrillingly eloquent declamation shall show them that ours is a great country, that it extends from Maine to Texas, and from Hull to San Francisco; that we are the bravest, freest, wisest, justest people under heaven; that the eyes of all nations are looking upon us in hope and confidence; and that, if we would not prove recreant to our high destiny, we should cherish, as the apple of our eye, the glorious Union under which we have lived, and may still live so prosperously and so harmoniously, if we will but compromise with our Southern brethren as often, and in the precise way, they ask us to do; and shall conclude by invoking the favor of a just God on our country, 'however bounded,' and beg His blessing on all our national enterprises, 'right or wrong.'

Now, friend Garrison, if with your recommendation, the Committee of Arrangements can be persuaded to let me give such an oration on the above occasion, I am ready to receive an invitation, and in confident hope subscribe myself,

Your friend, and the Committee's servant,
JOHANNES SCHMIDT.

JUST REBUKE.

At Mr. Sunderland's lecture in Masonic Temple, last Friday evening, an occurrence took place which called forth from that gentleman a scathing rebuke of the negro-hating spirit, which, alas! seems yet to linger in far too many hearts in Boston. Among others fascinated and drawn upon his platform, was a respectable colored person. As she was seen to approach the platform, there were a few hisses, in a remote part of the hall, apparently from young men. Mr. Sunderland, looking around with mingled emotions of astonishment and indignant grief, exclaimed:

'Ladies and gentlemen! I have travelled and lectured at the South and among the slaveholders, where, indeed, I was once mobbed, and ordered to leave, with a dagger pointed at my breast. Yes, in that land of distilled tyranny and slaveholding, have I fascinated both *black* and white, and never once did I hear manifested the signs of disapprobation which have saluted my ears here to-night. No, never did I hear or see the manifestation of any such feeling there! And, gracious Heaven! is it reserved for Boston, this Athens of America, to be the last resort of this hateful spirit? Why, I would pathetise the devil himself, and do him good, if I had the power! And how much more the poor and despised of my race!' The response from the audience left no room to doubt that, in the views and feelings expressed by the lecturer, they fully sympathized, with the sorry exception, perhaps, of two or three.

We are informed that numbers of colored persons have been fascinated by Mr. Sunderland, in his recent lectures in this city, and among the number are Henry Box Brown and Ellen Crafts.

☞ We are happy to see colorphobia thus scouted at these lectures, and thus sharply rebuked by the lecturer. Anti-slavery infidelity, also, it would seem, does not wholly escape censure at them, at least by implication, if we may judge from a keen interrogatory by one of the young ladies, the other evening, while under the 'spell.' The lecturer had introduced his entranced subjects to a temperance meeting, and among other imaginary persons present was the 'Apostle of Temperance' and Apostate to Abolition. 'Wonder if Father Mathew *means* all he says?' archly inquired the young lady. What an insinuation! She could not '*spell*' better in her normal state.—Y.

NEW BOOKS. In Mr. Garrison's absence from his usual post, on account of illness, we feel bound to acknowledge the receipt of two books, both of which must be received with interest and favor by the reading community, for their authors are well known as no copyists, or mere book-makers. First, we name a new volume, by RALPH WALDO EMERSON, entitled, 'Representative Men.' This volume is made up of the lectures which Mr. Emerson gave, the last winter, upon Plato, Swedenborg, Montaigne, Shakspeare, Napoleon and Goethe. The other book is by the author of 'Margaret,' (Rev. SYLVESTER JUDD, of Augusta, Me.,) and is entitled, 'Philo: an Evangeliad.' We have but glanced into this book, yet sufficiently to see that it contains noble thoughts, and that its moral tone is clear and lofty.

☞ Our friends in Scotland will please to pay their annual subscriptions to WM. SMEAL, Glasgow, who will, we doubt not, from his good will to the cause, receive and remit the same to us, as he did last year.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

We again insert the following memorial to the Legislature, for the purpose of stimulating the friends of religious liberty to active efforts in its behalf:—

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MASSACHUSETTS:

The undersigned, inhabitants of Massachusetts, respectfully ask of the Legislature the repeal of all laws in this Commonwealth, enforcing the observance of a day of the week as 'the Sabbath,' or 'the Lord's day'—

1. Because there exists among the people an equally honest and conscientious difference of opinion as to the holiness of particular days, and the mode of their observance;

2. Because it is contrary to the fundamental idea of a republican government, that conscience should be coerced into conformity by law, or that special rights and privileges should be given to a particular religious belief;

3. Because the question of the holiness of days,—like that of public worship, the support of the clergy, the observance of ordinances,—should be left in its decision to individual conscience, and made to depend on its own merits, without the intervention of the State; and,

4. Because, as it has been found safe, politic and beneficial to allow the people to decide for themselves in all other religious matters, there is no reason to doubt that the same good results would follow the repeal of the Sabbatical laws.

ARRIVAL OF THE CAMBRIA.

Steamship Cambria, Capt. Shannon, from Liverpool Dec. 15, via. Halifax, arrived at East Boston, about 1 o'clock on Sunday morning, with a fortnight's mails and 91 passengers—4 of which were from Halifax.

The fine New York packet ship Caleb Grimshaw, about two years old, has been burnt at sea off the Azores, and most fortunately, all her passengers, 390 in number, mostly emigrants, were saved. The first account received at London stated that 100 were lost.

FRANCE. On the night of the 3d of December, M. Pemis's proposition for the abolition of exposing the names of political offenders condemned by default on the pillory, was rejected by a large majority of the Assembly. On the evening of the same day, the President attended the theatre Des Varietes, when he was loudly applauded, and some verses sung in his favor. The anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz was celebrated by a high mass at the chapel of the Invalides.

Four hundred of the insurgents of June arrived in Paris from Havre, and were liberated by the Attorney General.

The elections have been postponed to the 25th Jan., 1850.

Ledru Rollin's pamphlet in defence of his own conduct on the 13th June has been seized, and proceedings have been instituted against the printers and publishers for exciting hatred and contempt against the government.

A Socialist named Leguin has been sentenced to four months' imprisonment for saying, during the insurrection of the 13th June, that he would eat the heart of the President. The ultra Royalist journals continue to manifest their hatred of England. Orders have been sent to withdraw a portion of the army from Rome. Measures are taking to improve the condition of the emancipated slaves in the colonies of France. The government announces that the bills of exchange drawn by General Cordova on the treasury of Madrid, for payment of the Spanish army in Italy, had been protested for non-payment, the Madrid treasury being completely exhausted.

Two measures were discussed in the Assembly on the 7th. One was for a grant of money to complete the tomb of the Emperor Napoleon. This was withdrawn by the government. The other was a proposition to advance three million francs to workmen's associations. A stamp duty of four centimes is about to be laid on newspapers.

The President of the republic has proposed to establish, under the control of the State, Banks of Mutual Assistance for the working classes.

M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, entertained the President of the republic, and the whole corps diplomatique, at his residence, on the 9th. The utmost cordiality prevailed.

Mr. Robert Stevenson, the English Engineer, has been named a Knight of the Legion of Honor.

Mr. Thiers is suffering severely from blisters on the tongue, and the President of the republic is also indisposed with inflammation of the face.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY. Our advices from Constantinople come down to the 25th Nov. As yet, the extradition question has not been settled, nor, according to the best authorities, was it likely to be settled. The Emperor had, up to that time, persisted in his demand for having the enemies of Russia, as he calls the Hungarians and Poles, banished from the Ottoman empire. These demands the Porte resists, and so the matter stands.

During the early part of the week, it was thought here that the whole affair had been arranged, but that turns out to be untrue. In the opinion of the Times correspondent, the Emperor is merely desirous of postponing a rupture until the spring, when his operations will be more favored by the season. Meantime, Turkey is making every preparation to meet him, should he advance. The English fleet had left the Dardanelles. Russia is increasing her fleet.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY. The state of siege will be removed from Vienna on the 1st of January. The Emperor has returned to Schonbrunn from Prague. Orders have been sent to the army of observation in Bohemia to approach as near the Saxon frontier as possible.

Affairs in Hungary continued unsettled. A Pesth paper states that Prince Metternich has written a letter to the Austrian Minister, in which he declares that the Austrian monarchy cannot enjoy lasting peace unless Hungary is maintained in its preceding relations as a separate State.

Notwithstanding all the precautions of the police, Kossuth medals are considered by Magyar patriots as of inestimable value.

The Cologne Gazette publishes letters from a correspondent, who has recently made an excursion into Hungary. He declares that lamentable desolation and misery reigned in the land, that old men, women and children are to be seen in want of the common necessaries of life, and that fertile and cultivated lands have fallen to a lower price than the virgin forests of America. Many of the great proprietors have disposed of their estates.

Kossuth's furniture has been sold by auction at Pesth. The plainness of it was remarkable. His family have been liberated, and they intend to join him in Turkey.

ITALY. Letters from Naples announce that great arrangements were in progress, but for what object was unknown. The fortress of Gaeta was undergoing repair and arming. The Pontifical frontier was lined with troops, and arrests continue. The new French chief is resolute and firm to the cardinals. In an address to the troops he says, 'Your mission is not ended.'

The treasury of the cardinal triumvirate is reported to be insolvent. No time has yet been fixed for the return of the Pope.

A few of the Roman nobility return to their palaces; but Rome is dull beyond examale. Out of the 30,000 strangers who usually are seen at this season, not 3000 have arrived.

AFRICA. The French have captured the town of Zatchu. The whole place has been desolated, and not a soul among its inhabitants has been left to tell the tale of its disaster.

TWO WEEKS LATER FROM CALIFORNIA.

A large and splendid building is in course of completion at San Francisco, by Messrs. Chittenden & Conner, designed as a Merchants' News Room and Exchange, upon the plan of the New York and Boston Exchanges.

The Panama left the bark St. Mary's at Acapulco, 23 days from San Francisco, with 200 passengers, bound for Panama.

The overland trains which left the United States last spring and summer, across the mountains, had all arrived safe in California. They were subjected to many privations and hardships, but met their fate with heroic fortitude.

The general election took place on the 13th of November.

From the returns received, it is certain that the Constitution has been adopted by an almost unanimous vote.

For Governor, the general impression was, that Peter H. Burnett would be elected, and John M'Dougall, [formerly of Indianapolis, Ia.,] would be chosen Lt. Governor.

The vote in San Francisco and elsewhere indicates the election of Rodman M. Price and George W. Wright as Representatives to Congress.

The whole democratic ticket succeeded in San Francisco, by majorities ranging from 600 to 1000.

Great activity prevailed in San Francisco, and buildings were going up with a great rush. Carpenters' wages were $16 per day.

San Francisco and Sacramento city were rapidly filling up from the mines, and living was getting to be more costly daily. The rainy season is prevailing, and the roads to the mines are almost impassable. Yuba river has risen five feet, and it is thought there will be suffering in the mines. Gold continued as plentiful as ever.

☞ The President's Message was brought from Washington to Boston in 15 hours and 85 minutes. Distance, 460 miles. Average speed between Washington and New York about 34 miles an hour—between New York and Boston about 25 miles an hour.

☞ The railroad depot at Richmond, Va., was destroyed by fire on the 24th ultimo. Thirty-two loaded cars, and 10,000 bushels of wheat, and much other property, were destroyed. Loss, $100,000.

☞ Frederick Robinson, Esq., has resigned the office of Warden of the State Prison—the resignation to take effect on the first of April next, unless it should be the pleasure of the Governor and Council to appoint his successor previously to that time.

☞ The rope manufactured for the inclined plane on the Columbian Railroad, is 6000 feet long, nine inches in circumferance, and weighs upwards of 25,000 pounds.

Ohio Legislature.—The Senate adjourned on the 20th inst., after the 219th ballot, without making choice of a Speaker. A motion to adjourn *sine die* was not concurred in.

☞ Mr. S. S. Osgood, the artist, now in San Francisco, received $5000 for portraits executed by him in the space of six weeks. He has made some real estate speculations, which have turned out well.

Death of a Distinguished Physician.—The Richmond (Va.) Republican announces the death in that city of Dr. John Cullen, who for so long a period, and with such marked distinction, filled the chair of Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in the Medical Department of Hampden Sydney College.

Millerism and Insanity.—Since the opening of the New Hampshire Asylum for the Insane, in 1842, no less than twenty-two persons have been received as patients who have become insane through the influence of Millerism.

The Largest Ship.—The packet ship Washington, just built in New York for Frost & Hick's Liverpool line, is 2283 tons burthen, carpenter's measure (1655 custom-house,) and is rated to carry a thousand passengers. Her dimension are 200 feet long, by 43 broad. She will cost not far from $115,000, and is believed to be the largest merchant vessel in the world.

LUCY STONE,

An Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

Portsmouth, N. H.,	Friday,	January 4.
Dedham,	Sunday,	" 6.
Southboro',	Tuesday,	" 8.
Marlboro',	Wednesday	" 9.
Feltonville,	Thursday,	" 10.
Leominster,	Friday,	" 11.
Fitchburg,	Sunday,	" 13.

PARKER PILLSBURY,

An Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:

Plymouth,	Sunday,	Jan. 6.
Northampton,	Tuesday,	" 8.
Williamsburgh,	Wednesday,	" 9.
Cummington and vicinity,	Thursday,	10th, to Sunday, 13th.

☞ INDEPENDENT MEETINGS. ☜

W. M. FERNALD has opened his Meetings for three months, on *Sunday afternoons*, commencing next Sunday, Dec. 23, in Washingtonian Hall, Bromfield st. The subjects to be presented will be of a Theological, Psychological, and Social nature, and any thing pertaining to the movements of this progressive and transition age. Time of meeting, when the bells ring for the churches. *Seats free to all.*

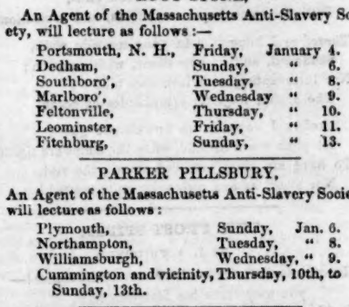
CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

☞ CHARLES SPEAR will deliver an address on Capital Punishment, in the Universalist Church in Plymouth, on the first Sabbath in January, in the morning, and also an address on the subject of Discharged Convicts in the afternoon, in the Unitarian Church.

THERE will be a general meeting in the evening for the free discussion of the whole subject.

Masonic Temple!

☞ *MERRY CHRISTMAS!* ☜



EVERY EVENING, this week and next, at 7 o'clock.

Admission 15 cents.

☞ Advice to Invalids, and Phrenological Examinations daily, at Masonic Temple, from 8 to 12, A. M. January 4!

Tenth Week at Boylston Hall.

J. INSCO WILLIAMS'S

PANORAMA OF THE BIBLE.

THIS Painting, which is over a mile in length, will commence moving every evening, at 7 o'clock, precisely.

Tickets 25 cents Children under 12 years of age, half price.

Exhibition every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon, at 3 o'clock.

Transient Boarders.

A FEW plain-living 'Reformers,' having occasion to pass a few days in the city, can be accommodated with 'Graham' board and lodging, by the subscriber, at No. 11 Lindall Place, leading out of Cambridge street, directly opposite the new Christian institution now erecting in sight of the Medical College. Terms, 50 cents per day for board and lodging. Those who have taken care of the subscriber while travelling, will be received gratis.

CHARLES STEARNS.

Boston, Dec. 15.

CLOTHING!

NEW STORE,

No. 107, : : : : *Cambridge Street*

LEWIS HAYDEN,

WHO, it will be remembered, was formerly a slave in Kentucky, has opened the above Store, and keeps a good assortment of

MEN'S AND BOY'S CLOTHING,

of superior quality. He trusts that all will lend him a helping hand, for it will be his constant endeavor to keep for sale a *good* and *cheap* article on hand, both at wholesale and retail.

He has also a good assortment of little Knick Knacks, such as are generally kept in a variety store, so that he is enabled to accommodate all his friends who may feel disposed to give him a call. And he thinks that it would not be inappropriate here to return his sincere and heartfelt thanks to those who have rendered him assistance since his arrival here; and he trusts that, although he may not be able to reward them, yet that Being who knows the hearts of all men, will render unto them their just reward.

Boston, July 13 tf.

SUNDAY OCCUPATIONS.

BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE. Just published, and for sale at the Anti-Slavery office, 21 Cornhill, Price 12 1-2 cents—twelve copies for $1.

Autobiography of Henry C. Wright.

HUMAN LIFE: Illustrated in my individual Experience as a Child, a Youth, and a Man. By Henry Clarke Wright. 'There is properly no history; only biography.'—R. W. Emerson. Price $1 00. Just published, and for sale by

BELA MARSH,

POETRY.

☞ The following beautiful dedicatory lines are from Longfellow's new volume of poems, 'The Seaside and the Fireside:—'

DEDICATION.

As one who, walking in the twilight gloom,
Hears round about him voices as it darkens,
And seeing not the forms from whence they come,
Pauses from time to time, and turns and hearkens,

So walking here in twilight, O, my friends!
I hear your voices, softened by the distance,
And pause, and turn to listen, as each sends
His words of friendship, comfort and assistance.

If any thought of mine, or sung or told,
Has ever given delight or consolation,
Ye have repaid me back a thousand fold,
By every friendly sign and salutation.

Thanks for the sympathies that ye have shown!
Thanks for each kindly word, each silent token,
That teaches me, when seeming most alone,
Friends are around us, though no word be spoken.

Kind messages, that pass from land to land;
Kind letters that betray the heart's deep history,
In which we feel the pressure of a hand,—
One touch of fire,—and all the rest is mystery!

The pleasant books, that silently among
Our household treasures take familiar places,
And are to us as if a living tongue
Spake from the printed leaves or pictured faces!

Perhaps on earth I never shall behold,
With eye of sense, your outward form and semblance,
Therefore to me ye never will grow old,
But live forever young in my remembrance.

Never grow old, nor change, nor pass away!
Your gentle voices will flow on forever,
When life grows bare and tarnished with decay,
As through a leafless landscape flows a river.

Not chance of birth or place has made us friends,
Being oftentimes of different tongues and nations,
But the endeavor for the self-same ends,
With the same hopes, and fears, and aspirations.

Therefore I hope to join your sea-side walk,
Saddened, and mostly silent, with emotion;
Nor interrupting with intrusive talk
The grand, majestic symphonies of ocean.

Therefore I hope, as no unwelcome guest,
At your warm fireside, when the lamps are lighted,
To have my place reserved among the rest,
Nor stand as one unsought or uninvited!

THE FROST SPIRIT.

BY J. G WHITTIER.

He comes—he comes—the Frost Spirit comes!—
you may trace his footsteps now,
On the naked woods and the blasted fields, and the brown hill's withered brow,
He has smitten the leaves of the gray old trees,
where their pleasant green came forth,
And the winds which follow wherever he goes, have shaken them down to the earth.

He comes—he comes—the Frost Spirit comes!—
from the frozen Labrador—
From the icy bridge of the northern seas, which the white bear wanders o'er—
Where the fisherman's sail is stiff with ice, and the luckless forms below,
In the sunless cold of the atmosphere into marble statues grow!

He comes—he comes—the Frost Spirit comes!—
On the Northern rushing blast,
And the dark Norwegian pines have bow'd, as his fearful breath went past,
With an unscorch'd wing he has hurried on, where the fires of Hecla glow
On the darkly beautiful sky above, and the ancient ice below.

He comes—he comes—the Frost Spirit comes!—
and the quiet lake shall feel
The torpid touch of his glazing breath, and ring to the skater's heel;
And the streams which danced on the broken rocks, or sang to the leaning grass,
Shall bow again to their winter chain, and in mournful silence pass.

He comes—he comes—the Frost Spirit comes!—
let us meet him as we may,
And turn with the light of the parlor fire his evil power away;
And gather closer the circle round, when that fire light dances high,
And laugh at the shriek of the baffled Fiend, as his sounding wing goes by!

NEVER HOLD MALICE.

Oh! never 'hold malice'; it poisons our life
With the gall-drop of hate and the night-shade of strife;
Let us scorn where we must, and despise where we may,
But let anger, like sunlight, go down with the day.
Our spirits in clashing may bear the hot spark,
But no smouldering flame to break out in the dark;
'Tis the narrowest heart that creation can make,
Where our passion folds up like the coils of a snake.

Oh! never 'hold malice'; it cannot be good,
For 'tis nobler to strike in the rush of hot blood,
Than to bitterly cherish the name of the foe,
Wait to sharpen a weapon, and measure the blow.
The wild dog in hunger—the wolf in its spring—
The shark of the waters—the asp with its sting—
Are less to be feared that the vengeance of man,
When it lieth in secret to wound when it can.

Oh! never 'hold malice'; dislike if you will,
Yet remember Humanity linketh us still;
We are all of us human, and all of us erring,
And mercy within us should ever be stirring.
Shall we dare to look up to the Father above,
With petitions for pardon, or pleading for love;
Shall we dare, while we pant for revenge on another,
To ask from a God, yet deny to a brother?

—*Eliza Cook's Journal.*

IMPORTANCE OF LITTLE THINGS.

'Since trifles make the sum of human things,
And half our misery from our foibles springs,—
Since life's best joys consist in peace and ease,
And though but few can serve yet all may please,—
O, let the ungentle spirit learn from thence,
'A small unkindness is a great offence.'
The mild forbearance at a brother's fault,
The angry word suppressed, the taunting thought;
Subduing and subdued, the petty strife,
Which clouds the color of domestic life;
The sober comfort, *all the peace which springs*
From the large aggregate of little things;—
On these small cares of daughter, wife or friend,
The almost sacred joys of *home* depend—
There, Sensibility, thou best may reign:
Home is thy true, legitimate domain.'

TO AMERICA.

Fair is thy land, America, and free!
Thy flag floats proudly o'er the bounding waves—
But, hark! what sounds come o'er the Atlantic sea?
The groans, the SHRIEKS, alas! of tortured slaves!

—*Amelia Opie.*

The Liberator.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

FRIEND GARRISON:

I am encouraged, by your past liberality, to offer some remarks on Mrs. Wilson's publication, from which you have made copious extracts. I am an advocate for woman's rights. Far be it that from the wife of our bosom, or the mother of our being, or the sister of our love; or from her who is redeemed by the same Savior, and destined to be our companion in the everlasting kingdom of God, an iota of respect, or affection, or privilege, or right, of a civil or religious nature, should be withheld, which is in conformity with the will of the Creator. The constancy of her affection through all the vicissitudes of life, her enduring patience in the seasons of our frailties, our sickness and our sorrows, should ever endear her to our hearts, and imperatively forbid every encroachment on her rights.

The question proposed for consideration, by the intelligent author is, 'What rights and duties has God assigned to woman on this theatre of action?' The avowal, that 'the purpose to ascertain woman's *rights* and *duties*, in the important relations of life *from the sacred record*, is strictly adhered to throughout the work,' has induced attention to its statements and arguments. It must be admitted that the Creator has a right to assign, to all his creatures, that position in the scale of being which 'the counsel of his own will' determines. 'Shall the thing formed say unto him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?' The Almighty has the same right to make a difference between the sexes of the same race of beings as he has to create different races.

That man has exercised dominion over woman which God never gave him, that he has grossly perverted the holy institution of marriage to gratify the pride, carnality and selfishness of his depraved heart, is lamentably true. He has robbed woman of her rights and himself of the benefits which a recognition of those rights imparts. The love of 'dominion' is not, however, confined to sex. *Queens* have exhibited it as well as *Kings*. Neither is it limited to royalty. Yet man has had more opportunity for its development than woman, and in him it has been far more apparent. It is no part of my purpose to shield it from merited rebuke. It is the main position of the writer, however, that demands especially our consideration. This position is as follows:—

'Our aim is to demonstate the equality of the sexes, and their equal obligations and accountability': (p. 5:) 'they were perfect equals': (p. 23:) 'Scripture is altogether silent respecting the duty of a man ruling his wife at all': (p. 70:) 'Dr. Wayland has not *one text* of scripture to predicate his theory on, respecting the authority which the husband exercises over the wife—there is a despotism erected without one text of scripture to support its foundation': (p. 117:) 'Is she designed a different field of action by her Creator? We answer, No!' (p. 35.)

The question at issue is not, whether or not woman 'is a mere machine in the hand of' man; 'a slave'; 'an automaton'; 'mere toys or butterflies to *please men*.' Neither is it whether or not 'the male sex were set up as the only governors and rulers in the human family, and that the females were mere appendages of man, with scarcely a claim to the rights of moral and intellectual beings.' The question is not, whether or not there is any natural difference in the mental faculties of the sexes. The question is, whether or not the Creator has revealed any difference in respect to the design of the creation of the two sexes, and any difference in respect to authority and subjection.

The assertions of our author, which define her position, may first be compared with the revealed will of Jehovah:—

'And the Lord God said, it is not good that man should be alone; I will make him a help-meet for him.' Gen. 2: 18. 'He (man) is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man; for the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.' I. Cor. 11: 7—9. 'Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.' Gen 3: 16. 'The head of the woman is the man.' I. Cor. 11: 3. 'Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord; for the husband is the head of the wife even as Christ is the head of the church; therefore, as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing.' 'Let every one of you in particular so love his wife, even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband.' Eph. 5: 22, 23. 'Wives, submit yourselves unto your husbands as it is fit in the Lord.' Col. 3: 18. 'Likewise ye wives be in subjection to your own husbands—even as Sarah obeyed Abraham,' &c. I. Peter 3: 1—6. 'That they (aged women) may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed.' Titus 2: 4, 5. 'Let your women keep silence in the congregations, (ecclesias,) for it is not permitted to them to speak; but to be under obedience, as also saith the law, and if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the congregation. What! came the word of God out from you? or came it unto you only? If any man think himself to be a prophet or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord; but if any man be ignorant, let him be ignorant.' I. Cor. 14: 34—38. 'Let the woman learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence; for Adam was first formed, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, was in the transgression.' I. Tim. 2: 11—14.

Now, whatever is the precise import of this divine testimony, must it not be conceded, by every unbiased mind, that it is impossible to reconcile it with the opinion of the *perfect* equality of the sexes? If those declarations of the Spirit of Truth do not teach *any* difference between them, what can we prove from the Bible? Men may indeed make unwarrantable inferences from them, and usurp undue authority over woman. It is no proper remedy for this evil to set aside the plainly revealed will of the Sovereign of the universe.

In respect to the original creation of the sexes, it is recorded that God said 'it is not good that man should be alone; I will make a help-meet for him;' that 'neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man'; and 'the man is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man.' Is there *no* difference here? Is this the language of perfect equality?

In respect to authority and subjection, it is written, not only 'thy husband shall rule over thee,' but 'the head of the woman is the man.' Wives are commanded to '*submit*' to their husbands, to be '*obedient*' to them, to be '*subject*' unto them in every thing,' and to 'reverence' them. Is this *perfect equality?* Compared with these inspired precepts, what must be our estimation of the assertion, that 'scripture is *altogether silent* respecting the duty of a man ruling his wife at all'? The reasonings of a 'commentator' may indeed be 'a zig-zag production,' but the theory of *the perfect and entire* equality of the sexes is manifestly annihilated by the word of the Lord, without note or comment.

It is, however, due to the talented author that we examine the arguments used to establish her position.

It is inferred from the words, 'let *them* have dominion,' &c., that 'whatever was the design our Creator had in forming man, woman was the same.' (p. 15.) Do these words prove that woman was no more made because it was 'not good that the man should be alone,' than that the man was made because it was not good for the woman to be alone? Do they disprove the plain declaration, 'neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man'? Admitting the words to include the woman, they do not necessarily imply *equality* of dominion, or preclude subsequent institution of different degrees.

The sexes are 'made of the same substance, of the same blood, consequently equal.' (p. 17.) This proves too much, as it destroys the authority of the father over the child, and that of the master over the servant. So, what Adam said of his wife, 'bone of my bones,' &c., the mother may say of her child. (p. 18.) I. Cor. 7: 4 is adduced, (p. 19.) The passage simply proves the equality of a right over each other's body, which makes the adulterer as guilty as the adulteress. It is observed that the apostle has 'balanced accounts,' I. Cor. 11: 12, 'as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman.' This, however, confirms the fact that the woman was *originally* of the man, and not the man of the woman. If this had *not* been the fact, the right of the Creator to make a distinction between the sexes, and so constitute the man the head of the woman, is not to be doubted.

Pp. 32, 33, 'individuality' is claimed for the woman. She is not to be '*merged* in the *husband*.' Yet, to prove that 'there can be no *superiority or inferiority*,' they are 'pronounced one.' The question is, *in what sense* are they one? To prove that they are one *in authority*, the words of the Savior are quoted, 'I and my Father are one.' If these words prove equality of authority, then the prayer of our blessed Lord that his disciples may be one in him and his Father, '*even* as (they) are one,' proves their equal authority with the Father and the Son. This equality is supposed to be 'directly expressed in the fifth' precept of the decalogue. By what logical process it is inferred from the command to children to honor both parents, that wives are not to be 'obedient to their husbands,' we have yet to learn.

P. 34, it is argued, that 'their duties being the same, their rights also must be the same.' That their duties are *entirely* the same is not true. If the divine command is the standard of duty, it is the duty of wives to be 'obedient to their own husbands,' and to be 'subject' to them. This is a general rule. Is there also a general rule for husbands to obey their wives and to be subject to *them*? There is no such contradiction. The command of God to Abraham to hearken to the voice of Sarah, *in a special case*, affects not the general rule. The commandments of the Lord require women to 'keep silence in the congregations, for it is not permitted unto them to speak.' Is this the duty of men also? Are the *domestic* duties of the sexes precisely the same? The passage, 'God is no respecter of persons,' repeatedly adduced, proves too much. If it precludes subjection in the conjugal relation, it does so in the parental, &c. The text is explained in the context: '*In every nation*, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is accepted of him.' It is also affirmed that 'if one portion of the human family have *less rights* than another portion, *how much less* in a question that never can be satisfactorily settled?' If this establishes the necessity of perfect equality between the husband and wife, it does so also in respect to parents and children.

P. 37, it is asserted that 'there is not an example, in all divine revelation, of a husband commanding a wife.' Afterwards, Gen. 18: 6 is admitted to be such. God's commands constitute obligation to obedience without any examples. If the divine injunction to wives to be 'obedient to their own husbands' had never been obeyed in the past, it is as binding in the present as if it had always been obeyed.

P. 42. 'God is the legislator of families.' True. Let his legislation be revered. 'Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord: for the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church.' 'Let your women keep silence in the churches.'

Ps. 122: 2 is quoted, (p. 125,) 'Behold, as the eyes of servants look unto the hand of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God.' It is asked, 'Does not all this look a little like the equality of rights and authority?' It may truthfully be replied that it looks *more than a little* like inequality. The inequality, indeed, refers to servants and masters and mistresses. To the relative position of husband and wife there is no allusion in the passage. The implication that the mistress has similar authority over the maiden to that which the master has over the servant is perfectly consistent with the authority of the husband over the wife. We do not say that the degrees of authority in the two cases are the same.

Passages are quoted to prove the authority of the wife over the children. Far be it that any one should question this authority. It is, indeed, 'established by direct precept;' and by 'direct precept' is that of the husband also established. It is said (p. 145) that women cannot serve two masters, God and her husband. 'Whether women ought to obey God or man, judge ye.' What say you, Paul? You have commanded wives to be 'obedient to their own husbands,' and children to obey their parents. Whether a son ought to obey God or his mother, judge ye. Possibly Paul would reply, God, husband and mother are all to be obeyed; but the requisitions of the Creator are of supreme authority, those of any creature which contravene them are a nullity.

The husband should love his wife as himself; but it is affirmed, (p. 71,) that 'if he loved her as his own body, he would not wish to rule her at all.' Ruling and loving are not incompatible. Parents love their children as their own bodies while they rule them. Christ loves the church and rules it. The precepts to the husband to love and the wife to obey are perfectly consistent. To invalidate Mr. Henry's inference from the truth, 'the husband is the head of the wife,' that 'God has given man the pre-eminence,' it is remarked, (p. 52,) 'In no place in divine revelation is the head represented to be the seat of reason.' It is, however, affirmed, (p. 62,) that 'it acts as a *sentinel* to the body.' How can this be? Is that part of the body which is *not* the seat of reason competent to act as a *sentinel* to that which *is*? Is not Mr. H's affirmation true, that 'the head is more excellent than the rest of the body'? 'The husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church.' Eph. 5: 23. If the phrase in the former case denotes no authority, neither does it in the latter. Our zealous author refutes her own ingenious arguments for the claim of entire equality, by the concession, that 'the husband's character in temporalities corresponds to Christ's in spiritual matters.' The declaration that Christ is the head of the Church, implies his *authority* in spiritual matters. That he is the 'patron,' 'protector,' and 'owner' of his church is true, but no more true than that he is her *king* and *lawgiver*. The difference, *in respect to degrees* of authority, in the cases of Christ and his church, and the husband and wife, are indeed widely different.

P. 64, it is asked, 'To what is the wife to be subject?' The answer given is, 'Why, for him to love, nourish and cherish her, as the Lord the Church.' That the husband is to love and nourish the wife is true, but the commands to wives to be obedient and subject to their husbands, *refers, not to the duty of the husband, but to the duty of the wife*. Does the requirement to be *obedient* and *subject* mean nothing more than that they should permit their husbands to love and nourish them? Is this exposition all the meaning of the terms? When children are commanded to obey parents, and Christians are commanded to obey magistrates, is there nothing more required of them than that they should allow their parents and rulers to *love and nourish* them?

P. 26, the words 'he shall rule over thee,' Gen. 3: 16, are affirmed to be 'nothing else but a propheecy.' What is the proof of this? The fact that similar words are used in prophetic language is not proof, for they are used quite as properly and more frequently in cases of commands. Compared with 1 Cor., 11: 3, Eph. 5: 22, 23, 24, Col. 3: 18, &c., they clearly appear to be divine law.

Remarks on the position of woman in the Christian church will be presented to the reader, by the kindness of the editor, in a subsequent article.

HENRY GREW.

Miscellaneous.

LETTER TO COUNTRY GIRLS.

BY MRS. SWISSHELM.

Well, girls, I know that, let others do as they will, you have to work, for if you do not, you would not be worthy the name of country girls. These drawling concerns, who lounge round reading novels, lisping about fashions and gentility, thumping some poor hired piano until it groans again, and putting on airs to catch husbands, while their mothers are toiling and boiling in the kitchen, are not often met in the country. This class of girls are generally confined to cities, and you would be surprised to know how many of them are there. There are hundreds of girls in every large city who parade the streets in feathers, flowers, silks and laces, whose hands are soft and white as uselessness can make them, whose mothers keep boarders to get a living for their idle daughters. These mothers will cook, sweep, wait on tables, carry loads of marketing, do the most menial drudgery, toil late and early with very little more clothing than would be allowed to a Southern slave, while their hopeful daughters spend their mornings lounging in bed, reading some silly book, taking lessons in music and French, fixing finery and the like. The evenings are devoted to dressing, displaying their charms and accomplishments to the best advantage, for the wonderment and admiration of knights of the yard-stick, and young aspirants for professional honors—doctors without patients, lawyers without clients—who are as brainless and soulless as themselves. After a while, the piano-pounding simpleton captivates a tape-measuring, law-expounding or pill-making simpleton. The two ninnies spend every cent that can be raised by hook or by crook—get all that can be got on credit in broadcloth, satin, flowers, lace, carriage, attendance, &c.—hang their empty pockets on somebody's chair, lay their empty heads on somebody's pillow, and commence their empty life with no other prospect than living at somebody's expense—with no other purpose than living genteelly and spiting their neighbors. This is a synopsis of the lives of thousands of street and ball-room belles, perhaps of some whose shining costume you have envied from a passing glance. Thousands of women in cities dress elegantly on the streets, who have not a sufficiency of wholesome food, a comfortable bed, or fire enough to warm their rooms. I once boarded in a 'genteel boarding house' in Louisville. There were two young ladies and a piano in the house—hall and parlors handsomely furnished. The eldest young lady—the belle—wore a summer bonnet at ten dollars—a silk and bland concern that could not last more than two or three months—silk and satin dresses at two, three and four dollars a yard, and five dollars apiece for making them, and the entire family, women, boys and babies, nine in all, slept in one small room, with two dirty bags of pine shavings, two straw bolsters, and three dirty quilts for bedding—no sheets, no slips, and there on the wall hung the pea green and white satin, the rich silk and lawn dresses. These ladies did not work, but played the piano, accordion and cards; and nearly broke their hearts, the week we were there, because another lady, who, I presume, lived just as they did, called on them with a great, clumsy gold chain on her neck. None of them had one, and Miss Labalinda, the belle, could eat no supper, and had a bad fit of the sulks to console her for the want of a chain. But, dear me! I had no notion of running away off here. I was just thinking how busy you country girls are apt to be in the fall, and this led me to think what a blessing it is that you have something to do; and that you think it a disgrace to live idly. It is a great blessing to live in a country where it is a blessing to work, for idleness is the parent of vice and misery.

ROMANTIC STORY.

We cut the following from a recent foreign letter published in the New York Evening Post:

A most singular story has come out by a death which took place at a monastery near Paris, last week. Several years ago, a rich miller, living in one of the provinces, became so unhappy by the death of his wife, that placing his only child, a girl of ten years of age, in a convent, he repaired to the monastery near Paris, and became a monk. During six or seven years he led a most pious life, but from the gloom of his cell he thought often of his daughter. The desire to see her grew so much upon him, that he at last resolved to open a correspondence with her; the answers he received to his letters were such as to re-awaken all the affections of other days within his bosom. The young girl, on her side, was no less eager to see once more a parent whose early tenderness she still remembered. With a resolution surprising in one of her age, she quitted the convent, dressed herself in male attire, and sought the monastery in which her father resided. She there resumed the habit of the order, and was named brother Robert. She was then but seventeen years of age. She took care not to reveal herself to her father until the irrevocable vows had been pronounced; when at last she followed him to his cell and told her story. The joy he expressed at folding his beloved child once more to his heart, and the regret which her act of devotion caused him, brought on a fever which ended his life in a few days. The young girl found herself now in a situation, which nothing but the religious education she had received, could have enabled her to bear. Deprived of the support which the daily sight of her father would have given her, she valiantly mortified herself in every possible way in order to keep down the worldly regrets which arose in her heart. She became the example of the convent, and the sanctity of Friar Robert was spread abroad in all France. The most holy offices were confided principally to her: it was she who was sent to pray by the bedside of the dying, and to console the afflicted. But she did an immense deal of good among the young girls of Paris, whom the world and its pleasure had drawn from the path of duty. To these she never wearied of talking; her humility surprised them; the simplicity of her soul, and the sweetness of her voice, charmed them completely, and Friar Robert rarely failed in bringing these wanderers back to the right way.

At last, however, slander attacked the fair fame of Friar Robert, and *he* was accused of being too fond of visiting female sinners. The Abbe of the monastery imposed upon the pretended brother, as penitence, to serve the whole community, and to do the most repugnant and the roughest works. She did all without a murmur, and during three years, accomplished the rude duties laid upon her, without failing in a single one.

Last week she died, and the remorse of the monks may well be imagined, when it was discovered that it was a sister instead of a brother whom they had been punishing so long.

IMPERIAL ORTHDOXY.

The Emperor of Russia having assembled the Russian and Polish Catholic Bishops at St. Petersburg made them the following speech:

'I do not wish for a new religion; a new sort of Catholic creed has been invented abroad, and I desire that it may not be introduced into my empire, because these innovators are the worst agitators, and without faith it is impossible anything can subsist. The West at this moment offers a fair specimen of what men come to if they have no faith—how great are the follies and the absurdities which they commit. Look at Rome; I predicted all that would happen there. Faith has entirely disappeared in the West. The manner in which the Pope has been treated is a plain proof that the true faith exists in Russia alone, and I hope (making the sign of the cross) that the holy faith may be maintained here. I told the late Pope Gregory XVI. things which he had never heard from any body else. The present Pope is a good man, his intentions are excellent, but his principles savor too much of the spirit of the age. The king of Naples is a good Catholic; he had been calumniated to the Pope, and now the Pope is compelled to have recourse to him.'

Bishop Holowinski replied—'Your Majesty, the Holy Father was obliged to yield to circumstances and the spirit of the age.'

The Emperor—'Very possibly; but all these disorders arise from want of faith. I am not a fanatic, but I have firm faith. In the West they have run to two extremes—fanaticism and impiety.'

Addressing the Bishops, the Czar continued—'You are the near neighbors of these misguided men; let your example be their guide. If you encounter obstacles, address yourselves to me. I will employ all my power to stem this torrent of impiety and revolt, which is spreading more and more, and threatens even to penetrate into my dominions. A revolutionary spirit is the result of impiety. In the West there is no longer any religious faith, and this evil will increase still more.' Addressing himself to the metropolitan Bishop, and kissing his hand, the Czar concluded by saying—'We have always understood each other, and I trust it will always continue so.'

ARISTOCRACY.

There are men—we blush to call them men—who turn up their noses at the mechanic and common laborer. Being liberally educated, as it is called, they look down with a sort of contempt on those who in some cases have contributed to their support. 'You need not despise a spinning-wheel,' said an old lady to her pompous son one day, 'for many a night have I worked at it to get money to send you to school.' There are women, too, who will not touch a needle with their delicate hands, who laugh at the poor and industrious, who learn trades, or work in factories, for a living. 'La! how unrefined they are,' she says, with a scornful smile, as she lounges on the sofa, reading the last pink novel. We once knew a lady—shall we call her a lady?—of this complexion. She was loudly belaboring a poor, hard-working girl, calling her poor and unrefined. 'Why,' said she, 'her father was nothing but a low mechanic.' 'Yes,' remarked a woman present, 'her father was a mechanic. I knew him well, for he lived in the same neighborhood with your mother, when she went out a washing.' There, reader, if you had been present, you would have seen a strange confusion of face, and heard a vain attempt to utter something too prickly to come out. It stuck in her throat. When we hear men or women speak lightly of the industrious part of the community, we feel just like tracing back their genealogy. We have done so in several instances, and you would be surprised at what we learned. The most aristocratic man of our acquaintance is the grandson of a fiddler, the proudest woman the daughter of a wash-woman. It betrays a lack of good sense to condemn or look with contempt on any virtuous person, however poor he or she may be. The wise and good respect and love goodness, wherever it is found.

HIGH TESTIMONY AGAINST STANDING ARMIES.

In a recent discussion in the House of Lords on Lord Brougham's resolutions, the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who has, no doubt, seen how Austria and France have ruined themselves by maintaining large armies, from year to year, in readiness for war, made the following pertinent remarks on the great folly of such a course:

'I am disposed to dissent from that maxim which has been so generally received, that, 'if you wish for peace, you must be prepared for war.' It may have applied to the nations of antiquity, and to society in a comparatively barbarous and uncivilized state, when warlike preparations cost but little; but in the state of society in which we now live, when the warlike preparations of great powers are made at enormous expense, I say that so far from their being any security to peace, they are directly the contrary, and tend at once to war. For it is natural that men having adopted means they think efficient to an end, should desire to put their efficiency to the test, and to have some direct result from their labor and expense. Why, my lords, one of the most distinguished statesmen of France, very recently said in the French Chamber, with the strongest professions of peace, 'Let us have peace by all means, but take care you have an army of 800,000.' Why, my lords, what does that mean? What can it mean but war or bankruptcy?'

TRUTH AND JUSTICE.

'In this, God's world, with its wide whirling eddies and mad-foam oceans, where men and nations perish as if without law, and judgment for an unjust thing is sternly delayed, dost thou think that there is therefore no justice? It is what the fool hath said in his heart. It is what the wise, in all times, were wise because they denied, and knew forever not to be. I tell thee again, there is nothing else but justice. One strong thing I find here below; the just thing, the true thing. My friend, if thou hadst all the artillery of Woolwich thundering at thy back in support of an unjust thing, and infinite bonfires invisibly waiting ahead of thee, to blaze centuries long for the victory on behalf of it, I would advise thee to call halt: to fling down thy baton and say, 'In God's name, No!' Thy 'success?' What will thy success amount to? If the thing is unjust, thou hast not succeeded; no, though bonfires blaze from North to South, and bells ring, and editors write leading articles, and the just thing lay trampled out of sight, to all mortal eyes an abolished and annihilated thing. Success! In a few years thou wilt be dead and dark—all cold, eyeless, deaf; no blaze of bonfires, ding-dong of bells, or leading articles visible or audible to thee again to all forever. What kind of success is that?'

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Dec. 14, 1849. tf

HENRY W. WILLIAMS, M. D.,
Physician, Surgeon and Oculist,
No. 10, ESSEX STREET, - - - BOSTON

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The following was handed us, and we insert it for the consideration of others who may be similarly afflicted. The gentleman may be seen at his residence, 7 1-2 Elliot st.

BOSTON, April 27, 1849.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—A little more than a year ago, I was taken with spitting blood, pain in my side and shoulder, and strong symptoms of consumption. I sought the advice of two eminent physicians of this city, who sounded my lungs, and pronounced them badly affected, or very weak. They advised me to go into the country, as a change of air might be beneficial to me. I did so, but with little hope of returning alive. While there, I was taken worse than ever. A physician was called to see me. He examined my lungs, and said he could give me no encouragement—said I might live till Fall, but probably no longer. My own physicians, previous to my leaving for the country, said I should never get well. But I was induced to try Dr. Clark, who gave me the Anti-Scrofulous Panacea, and after taking it a few months, my health was restored, and now I am able to attend to my business. I think your Panacea a medicine of great efficacy. I speak from experience. RALPH HOBART.

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GENTLEMEN—I have used your Panacea for Salt Rheum, not only on myself, but on others, and I have been surprised at its results. It is, in my opinion, the most efficient anti-humor medicine ever discovered. My humor has entirely disappeared on my hands, and I am now entirely well.

MARTIN HASKINS, M. D.

BOSTON.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—I have tested the power of your Panacea in the case of my little boy, whose face and arms have been entirely covered several months with a very bad humor, and I am happy to say it has effected a radical cure. In my opinion, it is the best medicine for humors ever got up.

LAWSON HOUGHTON.

MESSRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN—I would cheerfully recommend your Panacea as the most powerful medicine to my knowledge now before the public for the cure of scrofula and other humors. It has certainly effected an important cure in the case of my child, who has for some time been afflicted with a humor. I would advise all who have humors to make a trial of it. It needs no puffing; it recommends itself.

Hingham, June, 1849. DARIUS EDDY.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN,—I have used your Anti-Scrofulous Panacea for swellings on my boy's neck, and to my surprise, they have entirely disappeared. I consider the medicine infallible for scrofula and other humors, and think it should be circulated all over the world.

NELSON RICE.

BOSTON, May, 1849.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER:

GENTLEMEN,—I have been afflicted for a number of months with a scrofulous humor on my face and neck. I tried several kinds of medicine, but received no benefit. A friend recommended your Panacea, which I tried, and by using two bottles, I am nearly cured. I would advise every one afflicted with humors to take it, for I think it a most excellent medicine.

A. D. PARMENTER.

BOSTON, May 23, 1849.

BOSTON, Nov. 28, 1849.

DRS. CLARK & PORTER: Gents—Feeling a great desire that the afflicted should avail themselves of your medicine, and be benefitted as I have been, I will cheerfully give my testimony in favor of it. It is well known to many who have long been acquainted with me, that I have suffered for nearly eight years with a very sore leg, at times swelled very much, and very purple. The veins on my leg were greatly enlarged, and the ulcers exceedingly sore and painful. Such has been my situation at times, that I have been unable to attend to my business. I have been very lame, and often have had to keep my room on account of the distress which the sores occasioned. My health became much impaired, and I feared the difficulty would terminate unfavorably. In this condition, I sought the best medical advice in the city and country, but I was told that there was no permanent cure for me—that if I healed the sores, death would be the consequence. Finding no encouragement from my physicians, and getting much worse, I was advised to try your medicine, and by the use of a few bottles, and a little wash for my leg, I consider myself quite well, better than I have been for many years. The swelling and veins have been diminished, the livid color of the skin has disappeared, the ulcers entirely healed over, and my limb is quite sound, so that I can now do my business and walk about without the slightest inconvenience. I consider your medicine has done for me what nothing else has or could do.

In the case of my wife, the same good effects of your medicine have been experienced. For seven years she has had a chronic inflammation of the eyelids, which not only made her look rather disagreeable, but at times was exceedingly painful. She consulted the best eye doctors in the city, and faithfully tried their medicines, but she got no benefit. She used various kinds of eye-water, but nothing produced any permanent change until she consented to use your medicine, and is now entirely cured. Any one wishing further information